

The Congregational Quarterly

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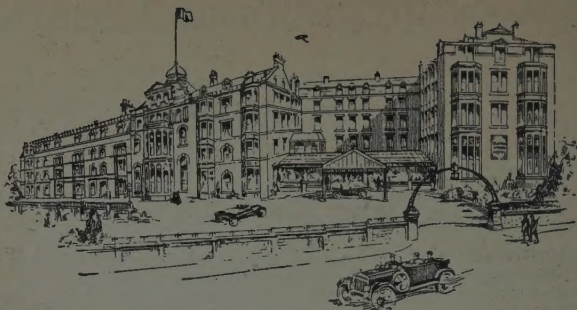
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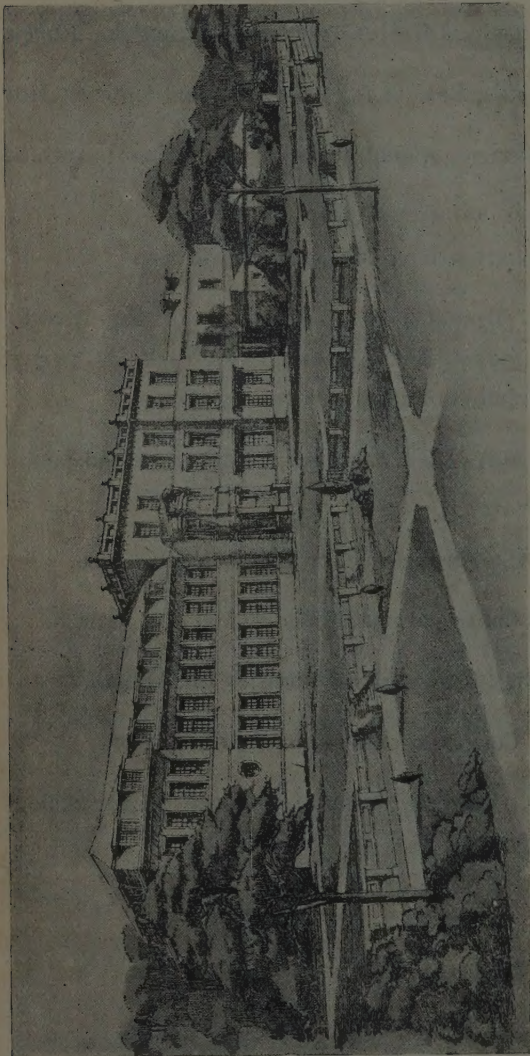
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The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL.

OUR "May meetings" are over. Viewed domestically they were an event: Dr. J. D. Jones's second chairmanship began, the long sought £500,000 was duly promised, distinguished "outsiders" like the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Stephen Graham, and Mr. Runciman visited us, and there was an abundance of good fellowship. But did they make so much as a ripple on the life of London, of Britain, of the world? Recently we listened to a discussion in the headquarters of one denomination during the week that a sister denomination was holding its "May meetings." It began with the remark: "Is it not strange that while the —— are having meetings that seem to them of tremendous importance, we here scarcely know that such meetings are being held, while the life of London goes on utterly unheeding?" It may be worth while for Christians to stop for a moment to consider what effect the "May meetings" of all the religious bodies have had on the life of the metropolis or of the community at large.

* * *

THE preliminary part of the Forward Movement is over. Hard work performed by many people, sacrificial giving by rich and poor, loyal support by many who were by no means enthusiastic about Central Funds, or about lumping together varied objects in one appeal—all these have resulted in half-a-million pounds being promised by the appointed day.

Is the Forward Movement to continue? Is the acquisition of this large sum of money for denominational purposes going to mean the release of energy for those spiritual tasks for which the churches exist? Are ministers and laymen now to be free to listen to and act on that plea for preaching which the Chairman of the Union's address set forth? We wish that for a period our churches could now give themselves to their specific function of extending the Kingdom of God, bringing men and women into contact with Jesus Christ, and giving to children and young people a sound religious education. If every church would do this work steadily and efficiently for a decade it would soon be evident that there need be no concern about material resources and there would be no lack of a wider fellowship.

And while the churches are living thus, what about the denomination? Where are we going? What are our urgent needs? Several suggest themselves. On the practical side such an arrangement of the business of our Assemblies is needed that we can give proper attention to domestic affairs and to such public questions as concern us. Our business session should have time for a statement of policy and progress by the Chairman or Secretary of the Union, and the Chairmen of Committees should be on the platform to present their reports, answer questions, and give the Assembly some idea of what is being done.

At least one session should be set apart for the discussion of public questions, the resolutions always being circulated beforehand. There is nothing to fear from the ventilation of subjects on which there are differences of opinion; if, as is credibly reported, the Assembly includes bores who will speak on every subject, it has sufficient good sense to deal with them satisfactorily. We must attain to the status and dignity of a deliberative assembly—for us to attempt to discuss the Protocol, the World Alliance, British rum-running into the United States, the Scottish Church Bill, and the Judicial Proceedings Bill in less than an hour is absurd.

The denomination should also be thinking ahead in regard to the new situation that will be created by the erection of new houses and the revolution in the means of transport. In a few years round all our cities will be a ring of new townships inhabited largely by people with motor cars, which will soon be cheap enough for working class and lower middle class people to own, as they do in the United States. The churches must be alert, must be "on the spot" as soon as the speculative builder or the brewer, certainly as soon as the people, not allowing them to form a non-church-going habit for three or four years, and then inviting them to worship in a tin shanty or a wooden hut. Let County Unions harness their best brains, survey their areas, and make their schemes, and let the national Union see to it that there is close co-operation with other denominations and no new overlapping scandal.

* * *

It is a commonplace to say that the present age has no great men; that the difference between us and the Victorians is that they possessed many outstanding figures whilst we, though standing on a generally higher level, still never rise above mediocrity. When we think, however, about the losses that English philosophy has sustained in recent months, we wonder whether it is right to say that we have had [no great men. We have lost F. H. Bradley, Hastings Rashdall, J. M. E. McTaggart, James Ward and Baron von Hügel, a quintet of which English scholarship has no need to be ashamed. The question that does present itself to us is whether there can be found in our Universities and colleges at the present time any younger men who give promise of making any like contribution to philosophical thought.

One of the lessons that ministers of religion in the present generation need to learn afresh is that their work can only be done satisfactorily by dealing with individuals. There may be a place for the church which is a "preaching station" and nothing else, but the ordinary church and the ordinary minister do their work best by combining with preaching and worship individual attention to the adult and the child. That is the way in which the Kingdom of God can best be built.

The weakness of many a modern ministry is not so much that the multiplicity of organisations and meetings takes the minister's time from reading—he is indeed a poor minister whose mornings are not sacrosanct—as that it prevents the minister giving due time to the care of souls. A saint of olden times used to say: "A single soul is diocese enough for one man." That may be hyperbole, but it is true that few ministers give enough time and thought to dealing with individuals. Psycho-analysis emphasises the need for a new presentation of the claims of pastoral work, which does not mean a round of hasty calls which cannot but be, in most cases, of a social nature—serving only to begin an acquaintance—but the study of the human soul and of the right approach to it in its varied difficulties, temptations and sins, and willingness to spend time in trying to understand how buffeted and perplexed children of God may become strong in the faith and put on the whole armour of God. If the Church, through its ministry and members, can become known as an unfailing sympathiser with and succourer of human souls, the Kingdom of God will indeed be at hand. But if the minister who gives twenty hours a week to pulpit preparation and twice that time to general reading, and a dozen hours a week to committees and church business, has only twenty minutes after a service to spare for individuals who wish to see him, his church cannot carry out this duty.

It must be realised, too, that to deal adequately with human souls requires infinite patience and tact—and no little knowledge, much of which can only be gained by experience. Protestants can learn much from the care which Roman Catholics show for this branch of their work. We have to take from them what is good in the practice of confession—its underlying notion of sympathy, its desire to help and to relate all human life to God in Christ Jesus—whilst maintaining our conviction that the confessional as an ordinary, regular, mechanical thing is subversive of moral strength and full of dangers. Let people come to us in times of peculiar difficulty that they may be helped in the spirit of Christ, but let them not get into the habit of coming. Let them lean on us for a time, but only that they may henceforth walk by themselves. Father Slater's *Manual of Moral Theology for English-speaking Countries* (Burns, Oates, 2 vols., 25s.) has just passed into its fifth edition, and all ministers might read with advantage not merely its more theoretical chapters, but also those that deal with specific sins

and problems. The nature of conscience, law, and sin is discussed and the purport of the Sacraments outlined: the right way of censuring breaches of the commandments and other sins is indicated—the chapters dealing with sexual matters being decently clothed in a learned language—and the work closes with a valuable short history of moral theology.

And while the Roman Catholics have specialised in this work, the Puritans have not always been backward. We have been reminded of this lately by the publication of Mrs. Tawney's *Chapters from Richard Baxter's Christian Directory* (1673), (Bell, 6s.). Baxter has often been quoted as an exemplar for ministers, but it has sometimes been forgotten that his visitation was more than the mere catechising of families: he made it his business to help his people to apply their religion to the everyday problems of life. The chapters of the "Summ of Practical Theology and Cases of Conscience" which Mrs. Tawney has chosen deal with the duties of masters and servants, of rich and poor, and also with theft, usury, oppression, wastefulness, and other sins.

All those whose duty causes them to have spiritual dealings with individual souls would do well to peruse these volumes by Catholic and Puritan, and then pass on to the Rev. Kenneth E. Kirk's *Ignorance, Faith and Conformity* (Longmans, 8s. 6d.), which discusses the relation between law and conscience, and how and when the individual is justified in non-conformity to accepted standards.

* * *

It is high time that a protest was made about the arrangements made by 2LO for their broadcasting services on Sunday evenings. These arrangements are supposed to be in the hands of a committee representing all the denominations, from which the speakers are chosen. Recently, however, for five or six Sundays, the speakers have belonged to one Church, an inequality which does not appear in provincial towns. It should not have been necessary for Free Churchmen to draw attention to this matter. The leaders of the Anglican Church could have shown that there is some reality in the professions of friendship they continually make, by pointing out that they were getting more than their share of invitations and refusing to accept them. It is not the slightest use Archbishops telling us to "love the brotherhood" and recognise the obligations of brotherhood in India and Africa, if they do not show a little consideration for their neighbours and fellow-Christians at home.

* * *

PERIODICALLY the possibility of bringing the offices of the London Missionary Society and the Congregational Union under one roof comes up for discussion, and it is an open secret that "conversations" have recently taken place. We trust that this eminently desirable end will be achieved, but it should not exhaust all possible developments. It

is more than time that Congregationalism's missionary enterprises—the Colonial Society as well as the L.M.S.—should be more closely attached to the Union which directly represents the churches. Both societies would have much to gain by being more definitely linked with the churches—and, if they were controlled by a truly representative assembly, without doubt there would be a great increase of interest and income. At present the bonds between the Societies and the churches—the Directors are altogether too remote to serve the individual churches in this way—consist of the occasional visit of a Missionary deputation, the raising of money, and the excellent periodicals the Societies provide—though in the main these only reach keen people and not those we want to interest in Christian missions. The present is an opportune time for surveying the whole situation, and we hope advantage will be taken of it. If we could gather Congregationalism's work together, and get the churches in direct touch with every part of it—"Home," "Foreign" and "Colonial"—it would mean a great step forward. And it ought not to be difficult.

* * *

We wish it were possible to give joyous and unqualified support to the campaign that is to be started by the London Missionary Society for an increased income. It has to be recognised, however, that there are many missionary enthusiasts who are inclined to hesitate, for they cannot escape the conviction that the Society's psychology in regard to the raising of money is altogether mistaken. Year after year the churches have been told of deficits; every missionary journal has contained a reference to the need of money, and even Churches and individuals who are very keen on the work our Missionary Society is doing are altogether tired of this continued cry. There are Societies whose range of activity is far wider than that of the L.M.S., who somehow manage to carry on without a continual wail about deficits. The British and Foreign Bible Society, for example, does a splendid work, but it does not announce annual deficits, but rather assumes that its work is of such extent and importance that money must naturally come to it. It gives the impression of prosperity and success, and that, in itself, is sufficient to attract many gifts. One wonders if it would not be wise for our Society to learn from this example not to talk about "withdrawals" and "deficits" but for two or three years to make Congregationalists feel the thrill and glamour and romance of missionary enterprise and see if money would not be forthcoming. The L.M.S. has had a history of which there is no need to be ashamed. The story of its past and the achievements of the present could be so related as to warm the hearts of Congregationalists the land over, and then extension rather than withdrawal would be the watchword. In our next issue we hope that a representative of the Society will deal with the questions raised in these paragraphs.

THE subject chosen by Dr. Jones for his address from the Chair of the Union lends interest to a poll recently held by that enterprising American paper, *The Christian Century*. Desiring to select twenty-five men to write a series of articles, *The Christian Century* invited 90,000 ministers of all denominations to send lists of names of the ten outstanding Protestant preachers in the United States. Nearly 22,000 papers were sent in, containing 1,146 names. The twenty-five leading names are those of men from forty to eighty-two years of age, and of all phases of theological thought. There are seven Congregationalists, including Dean Brown of Yale, Dr. G. A. Gordon and Dr. Campbell Morgan. Among other names familiar to English readers are Dr. Fosdick's, Dr. Fort Newton's, and Billy Sunday's. Dr. C. E. Jefferson, whose name also appears, makes the following comments :

"It is interesting to note that of the twenty-five, Congregationalists have seven. This is remarkable when one considers the smallness of that denomination. They have only 5,620 ministers in the whole country, whereas the Baptists have over 52,000, the Methodists over 48,000 and the Presbyterians over 14,000. Only 2,884 Congregationalists cast ballots, whereas the Methodists cast over 5,400 and the Presbyterians over 4,000. . . .

"One of the surprises of the list is that there is on it no representative of the Episcopal Church. There are in the United States 6,075 Episcopal ministers, whereas there are only 5,620 Congregational, and yet the Congregationalists have seven men on the roll of honour, whereas the Episcopalians have none. The fact is there is no outstanding preacher to-day in the Episcopal pulpit in the United States. That denomination stresses more than one important feature of organised Christianity, but the pulpit is not one of them."

Without being greatly impressed by this method of measuring the work of preachers, we are inclined to wonder whether a similar survey in this country would produce the same striking results.

* * *

It is well that our denomination is considering very seriously the whole question of the Ministry, and we are glad that a session at the Autumnal meetings of the Union is to be devoted to that subject. We hope to print in our next issue a paper by the Rev. G. Stanley Russell which will put one point of view. We trust that accelerated progress will be made with regard to the revolution of our college system. Nobody can defend for a moment the existence of the present number of colleges, and once again it is time for us to show that there is some reality in all our talk about Union and co-operation by uniting with other denominations in ministerial training.

Meanwhile, we often think that some of our colleges might, with advantage, change the relation of their students to their preaching

fees. It is fatal to any minister's usefulness if once he becomes too intent on material things, but many students throughout their college course are obliged by a pernicious system to look to preaching fees for their means of subsistence. The preaching list on Saturday morning becomes, not an opportunity to preach the Gospel, but a means of getting money enough to pay one's landlady next week. It should be possible for all our colleges to provide a sufficient bursary for students to live on, and for all preaching fees to go direct to the college; the present system inevitably associates the highest form of Christian service with monetary reward in a man's mind, and thus he starts out in an entirely wrong way. The sooner an alteration is made the better.

* * *

WE would draw the attention of our readers to the current issue of the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, which contains two important articles, both, by the way, by sons of Congregational ministers who have made definite contributions to historical study. Prof. G. S. Veitch writes of Raffles of Liverpool (his article has been re-printed and can be obtained from the Book-room), and Mr. B. L. Manning has the first part of a paper on "Some Hymns and Hymn-books," in which, while praising Dr. Barrett's *Hymnal*, he has some criticisms to make on the *Hymnary*. Mr. Manning's discussion of what makes a good hymn and of the place of hymn-singing in worship is of solid worth, and no one interested in the service of praise ought to miss it. Membership of the Historical Society (5s. a year) gives the right to receive the *Transactions*, published twice annually. Write to Mr. H. A. Muddiman, 79, The Avenue, Highams Park, E.4, or to the Editor of this journal. We should also like to commend, especially to ministers, *A Little Guide to Public Worship* (2d.), prepared by the Rev. A. Boyd Scott for the United Free Church of Scotland, which not only deals with the obligation of united worship and the preparation for it, but also treats of "The Substance of the Service." If the contents of this little book could be conveyed to our congregations, the result would certainly be an increase of the reverence in, and the value of, all our worship.

RICHARD BAXTER AND *THE SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST.*

THIS is the title of Baxter's first (written) and most famous book ; and the story of its origin is worth telling, because the circumstances partly explain its character. When he had been chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment for some eighteen months,¹ sharing its fortunes in the South-West and at several sieges in the Midlands, he accompanied a part of it under Major Swallow in a slow march, over heavy roads, across Warwickshire and Leicestershire into Derbyshire. Then he broke down. Prolonged exposure, "in a cold and snowy season," acting on a body already weak, induced a violent return of an old trouble—bleeding at the nose. He "bled about a quart or two." To make matters worse, in the hope of making them better, he "opened four veins," and as a finishing touch, still in the hope of a cure, he gave himself "a purge"—which stopped the bleeding indeed, but so exhausted him that the physicians who were called in despaired of his life. This took place "at Sir John Cook's house at Melbourne in the edge of Derbyshire beyond Ashby de la Zouch," where he lay three weeks. By the end of that time he was able to be removed to the house of Mr. Nowell at Kirby Mallory in Leicestershire—a distant connexion of Lady Rous, of Rous Lench, twelve miles east of Worcester. She had already entertained Baxter for a week or two, and learnt to revere him. As soon, therefore, as she heard of his illness she hastened to bring about his return to her home, where she nursed him with "the greatest care and tenderness." The letter he prefixed to the First Part of the *Saints' Rest* is a memorial of his gratitude both to Lady Rous and her husband, Sir Thomas. Here is the opening sentence—"This first part of this Treatise was written under your roof, and I present it not to you as a gift but as your own." Elsewhere he says more precisely : "While I was in Health I had not the least thought of writing Books, or of Serving God in any more publick way than Preaching ; but when I was . . . at Sir John Cook's . . . without any acquaintance but my servant about me, and was Sentenced to Death by the Physicians, I began to contemplate more seriously on the Everlasting Rest which I apprehended myself to be Just on the Borders of. And that my Thoughts might not too much scatter in my meditation, I began to write something on that Subject, intending but the Quantity of a Sermon or two² . . . but being continued long in Weakness, where I had no Books nor no better Employment,

¹ June, 1645, to Dec., 1646.

² "which is the cause that the Beginning is in brevity and Style disproportionable to the rest."

I followed it on till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it was published." To be quite exact, he began it at Sir John Cook's, continued it at Mr. Nowell's, bestowed upon it all the time he could at Rous Lench, and finished it at Kidderminster. His resettlement at Kidderminster may be dated about June, 1647, and one of the first things he did was to preach most of what he had written at a Thursday morning lecture which he set up. He further wrote, and perhaps preached, a portion of Part III., and in 1650 the whole book was published. He was then in his thirty-fifth year.

The title, of course, was taken from *Hebrews* 4^o, but this was only a starting point. As the work grew it suggested topic after topic which because of their presumed relation to Christian faith or life he felt bound to notice. In this way it expanded into an unsystematic system of practical theology, often to the increase of its edifying quality, but often also to the confusing of its main theme. Nor does it gain as a work of art by its frequent digressions into matters ecclesiastical or political, though these are the parts which a modern reader may find the most interesting. But literary art was nothing to Baxter. His motive always was a simple and sincere desire to be honest toward both himself and his reader. He wrote what seemed to him important at the moment, and let the form, as a whole, take care of itself. The final result was an amorphous volume; but one interspersed with innumerable passages of "English undefiled" which flow and gleam through its pages like the streams of a Highland landscape. On this account alone the book deserves to be read, and one is sorry to reflect that nobody reads it to-day.

When, however, it first appeared, what made it popular, what exhausted twelve large editions, amounting to 18,000 copies, before the author's death in 1691, was not so much its style as its teaching, and, still more, its spirit. Its teaching about this world and the next gave vivid expression to the Puritan mind, while its spirit of intense moral seriousness voiced the Puritan conscience to perfection. Three features may be cited for illustration.

I. Baxter thought of the present world, the world of nature and man, as destined soon to pass away. It was doomed by its subjection to the powers of evil. Earth, sea and sky were full of them. Their activity and ascendancy were evident. The history and issues of the great civil war seemed to him a proof of this. There was no hope of permanent change for the better. Things were rushing to decay and dissolution. God meant them so to do. Creation was made subject to vanity by His Will. It was all coming to an end that God, by the miraculous intervention of His Son from heaven, might initiate a new order and establish His reign in a new earth once for all. Baxter does not argue this doctrine—at least in the *Saints' Rest*; he enunciates and takes it for granted. It is the dark unquestionable background of his outlook. And the Puritans generally agreed with him. More than

one attempt recently has been made to show that the Puritan was a cheerful soul ; and he might be. But not from any Hellenic feeling about the beauty and worth of the present world. For him that world lay in wickedness, ripening for the harvest of Judgment ; and in Baxter he found a potent reinforcement of his faith.

II. It followed from this that life in the world as it is can be nothing else than a pilgrimage. It is fatal to rest here or to dream of resting. We are born into a state from which it is our duty—and our paramount duty—to escape. The way of escape lies through renunciation of all forbidden pleasures and the sober use of all pleasures that are pure. No pleasure may be enjoyed, no possession may be held, for its own sake. Whatever we have or do is but a means to an end—the supreme end of preparing ourselves to die. Here again, Baxter does not argue. He takes his belief to be an obvious and undeniable truth. All Puritans did the same.

III. But over against the world as it is, and the saint's pilgrimage, there remains his everlasting rest. There remains also, for the unsaved, an everlasting hell. On what Baxter says about the latter I will only remark that the intensity of his belief must have been unique even among Puritans. In one place he speaks, with amazement, of preachers who have a creed in their heads, and understand the reasons for it, and know how to expound it, and do expound it in eloquent sermons—expound and declaim it with passionate or pathetic urgency. But all the time they have not taken it to heart. They do not realise it. They preach hell-fire, e.g., with a zeal which makes the hearer tremble. But their zeal ends with the sermon. It does not disturb their sleep, or ruffle their daily calm, or affect their social intercourse with the people who are moving every moment nearer to irreversible weal or woe. They can joke with them out of the pulpit just as if there was really nothing at stake. Baxter, on the contrary, visualised his creed. He was haunted by the terrors of it. It was the medium through which he looked at every person whom he passed in the streets, or whom he saw before him in the congregation. He saw each one as a soul whose destiny hung in the balance, and might possibly be decided by his own word or deed. In fact, his sense of personal responsibility almost overwhelmed him. At times it made him unspeakably stern ; at times, again, it made him unspeakably tender and compassionate and patient ; and certainly it cast a deep and permanent shade on his own joy in the Lord. One is apt to wonder whether he did not forget that, after all, he was but a co-worker with God, and that what he could not do God's infinite love and mighty Spirit might accomplish. But then, one remembers that the orthodox Calvinism of his day limited the infinite love of God to the Saints ; and that Baxter was more of a Calvinist, in this respect, than he imagined.^x

^x See Pt. I., chap. 4, § 8, for a striking example.

But let us turn to his description of the *Saints' Rest*. It is marked by a diffuseness and iteration which some found tedious. "All this," they said, "might have been in a lesser room." To which he replied, "True, but I considered that I speak to plain unlearned men that cannot find our meaning in too narrow a room and that use to overlook the fullness of significant words." He dwells, therefore, at great length on the word "Rest." In fact, the pith of all he says on the subject of Heaven is just a working out of his idea of Rest. Thus, "*Rest is the end or consummation to which the motive or action of this life is a means.*" Consequently the end being reached, the action or motion will cease. "There shall be no more prayer because no more necessity, but the full enjoyment of what we prayed for . . . neither shall we need to fast, and weep, and watch any more, being out of the reach of sin and temptations. Nor will there be use for Instructions and Exhortations. Preaching is done; the Ministry of man ceaseth; Sacraments useless; the Laborers called in, because the harvest is gathered; the Tares burned and the work done."

Again, "this *Rest must contain the Highest degree of the Saint's personal perfection*, both in soul and body, else he could not thoroughly enjoy the Glory. Were the Glory never so great and themselves not made capable by a personal perfection suitable thereto, it would be little to them."

Further, "*Rest means the fruition of Joy in the most perfect object, i.e., God.* As all good whatsoever is comprised in God and all in the creature are but drops of this ocean, so all the glory of the blessed is comprised in the enjoyment of God; and if there be any mediate Joys there, they are but drops from this."

But there *are mediate Joys*—he calls them "the Pearls in the Saint's diadem"—and one of the chief of them will consist "in the fellowship of the blessed saints and Angels of God." He has no doubt of redeemed souls being able to recognise each other, though not after the flesh. "Nor is it only our old acquaintance; but all the Saints of all ages, whose faces in the flesh we never saw, whom we shall there both know and comfortably enjoy. Luther in his last sickness being asked his judgment whether we shall know one another in heaven, answered thus: *Quid accidat Adam? Nunquam ille viderat Evam*, etc., i.e., How was it with Adam? He had never seen *Eve*, yet he asketh not who she was, or whence she came, but saith, She is flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone. And how knew he that? Why, being full of the Holy Ghost, and indued with the true knowledge of God, he so pronounced. After the same sort shall we be renewed by Christ in another life, and shall know our parents, wives, children, etc., much more perfectly than *Adam* did then know *Eve*." Then follows the famous passage which gave so much offence to the Cavaliers.

"I think, Christian, this will be a more honourable assembly than you ever here beheld; and a more happy Society than you were ever

of before. Surely *Brook* and *Pim* and *Hambden* and *White*, etc., are now members of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right-ayming, self-denying, unanimous, honourable, triumphant Senate, than this from whence they were taken is, or ever Parliament will be. It is better being door-keeper to that Assembly, whither *Twisse*, etc., are translated than to have continued here the Moderator of this. That is the true *Parliamentum Beatum*, the blessed Parliament, and that is the only Church that cannot erre."

"O happy day when I shall depart out of this crowd and sink, and go to that same counsel of souls! I know that Christ is all in all, and that it is the presence of God that maketh Heaven to be Heaven. But yet it much sweetneth the thoughts of that place to me, to remember that there are such a multitude of my most dear and precious friends in Christ" And he quotes¹ with appreciation Socrates's last words to Crito about the joy of communing with the good and wise hereafter.

All this, and much more of the like, Baxter evolves from his idea of Rest. It is, in short, another name for the highest good. As such the pursuit of it is something supremely reasonable; and he emphasises this point in a separate chapter entitled, "This Rest most Excellent, discovered by Reason" (Pt. I., chap. vi.). Baxter, in fact, by natural bent was a rationalist with an insatiable desire to ascertain and demonstrate the ground of things. What philosophy he had was rationalistic: for he always put the understanding first, the will second, and the affections last in the order of his appeal. All his sermons were adapted to this scheme; and he is constantly commending it to other preachers. Hence it is not unfair to cite him as an early source of the later explicit rationalistic movement in England; nor strange to find him often so described. But he was a rationalist under authority. He was a rationalist in the same sense as Chillingworth, whom he greatly admired. His ultimate authority—an authority fully accepted only after many doubts answered by many arguments—was the Bible, the Bible and nothing else. Whatever, therefore, he says about the future is referred to a Scriptural basis, is clothed in Scriptural language, and is laid upon reason as a revealed truth which it must not dare to criticise. The result is often melancholy. In one place, for example, when poor reason ventures to urge the love of God against the incredible horrors of an everlasting Hell of literal fire it is abruptly silenced by a few texts. In another, where he is speaking of the Saints in heaven enhancing their joy by a contemplation of the lost in hell, it is quite evident that his humanity shrinks from the thought. He says, "The Scripture seems to affirm that as the damned souls shall from Hell see the Saints' happiness to encrease their own torments, so shall the blessed from Heaven behold the wickeds' misery

¹ Not from the Greek—of which he knew little—but from Erasmus' *Apoth.*, lib. 3, ex *Platone Xenop.*

to the encrease of their own Joy." "The Scripture" (doubtless *Luke 16*) "seems to affirm"—that is enough. But he could wish it otherwise. Here on earth, he says, the Saints' "greatest desire" is to communicate their happiness to all the world. Does death put an end to this desire? He does not utter the question; but it was in his heart. "*Scrutamini Scripturas*," said old John Selden—in a flash of his *Table Talk*—"has been the undoing of the world." Certainly one is tempted to say that it was the undoing of Baxter as a religious thinker. But our own escape into "a purer and ampler air," with regard to Scripture, need not make us unjust to Baxter. His defective conception of the Bible was his misfortune, not his fault. Any larger conception was hardly possible to him. And, if he missed some aspects of truth which we see, his utter sincerity in his use of what he *believed* to be the truth may, perhaps, put us to shame.

Moreover, in one respect he was nearer the truth, I think, than some modern Christians—I mean in his reliance on Scripture for the main support of his faith in a blissful immortality. "It is vain to heap up Scripture proof, seeing it is the very end of the Scripture to be a guide to lead us to this Blessed State, and to discover it to us, and persuade us to seek it in the prescribed way, and to acquaint us with the hindrances that would keep us from it, and to be the Charter and Grant by which we hold all our title to it." Baxter was not unfamiliar with the arguments for a future life to be met with in ancient and more recent writers,¹ nor did he deny that there was enough force in them to warrant belief. But he had found by experience that the natural case for immortality could not furnish an assurance capable of withstanding the caustic touch of intellectual doubt. His mind and heart cried out for some certain word such as spoke to him in the New Testament.

Substantially was he not right? What guarantee of life after death, in any full sense, can be compared with that of the New Testament?

We can afford to admit that the conception of it dawned very late, and then but dimly, on prophets and psalmists. We can afford to admit, further, that not a few of the texts on which Baxter relied were meant rather for earth than heaven, and that those which may be said to lift a corner of the veil are by no means enough to make up a picture of heaven. But more convincing and illuminating than any number of texts was the attitude, the personality, the resurrection of Jesus. When we find him taking men's immortality for granted and putting an infinite value upon every individual life; when we find him breathing, in his own spirit, the atmosphere of life eternal and taking no account of death; when we find him evincing the power of such life to survive death—nay, to transcend it in fulness of being; when, too, we find him claiming men as his brothers in whom his own

¹ See, e.g., Preface to Pt. II.

experience is to be repeated—can less be said than this, that he brought life and immortality to light? Surely if Christian people go in search of other aids to faith in life after death it is because they fail to appreciate the immovable strength of its anchorage in Christ.

Baxter's purpose in his book was of the most practical kind. The people for whom he wrote were believers, *i.e.*, professed Christians. With them he begins; to them he continually returns; with them he ends. What, then, does he want of them? He wants two things. He wants them to realise (1) that heaven is a crown of life for which they must labour; and (2) that the way to make their labour light is to meditate continually on the glory of the crown.

Baxter trembled for Christians who, while dreaming of heaven and expecting it, are yet content so to live as to lose it at last. What sharpened his anxiety on this score was the prevalence of Antinomianism. Some of its exponents occupied high places in the Church and had a great repute for orthodoxy. But in Baxter's view their teaching was the deadliest form of heresy. For its formula—"Believe and be saved"—was construed to mean "Believe and—do nothing else." Rest in the Lord here until he translates you without effort of your own to his Rest hereafter. A monstrous error! For "Rest is the end of *motion*. No motion no Rest. Christianity is not a sedentary profession and employment; nor doth it consist in mere negatives . . . not doing good is not the *least* evil; sitting still will lose you heaven as well as if you run from it. . . . He that hides his talent shall receive the wages of a slothful servant." Moreover, "there must be not merely motion rightly ordered, but motion strong and constant. If there be not strength put to the bow, the arrow will not reach the mark".

"Christ and his apostles have told us that the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, that the gate is strait and the way narrow, and we must strive if we will enter: for many shall seek to enter and shall not be able . . . and that the righteous themselves are scarcely saved. . . . Men as seemingly holy as the best of us have fallen off. He that knew it impossible, in the foundation, to deceive the Elect, yet saw it necessary to warn us that he (only) that endureth to the end shall be saved. Read the promises *Rev.* 2 and 3, to him that overcometh. Christ's own Disciples must be commanded to continue in his Love and that by keeping his commandments. . . ."

With the same keen desire to keep Christians in the way of sincere obedience as the only safe way to heaven, he entreats them to cultivate self-acquaintance by daily self-examination; and here he adds a note which incidentally lights up his broad humanity.

"I cannot but English (though I mar it) one passage in *Seneca* to shew some Christians to their shame what Heathens did. 'The soul is daily to be called to account. It was the custom of *Sextius* that when the day was past, and he betook himself to his rest at night, he would

ask his soul, *What evil of thine hast thou healed to-day ? What vice hast thou resisted ? In what part art thou better ?* Anger will cease and become more moderate when it knows it must every day come before the Judge. What practice is more excellent than thus to sift or examine over the whole day ? How quiet and sound and sweet a sleep must needs follow this reckoning with ourselves ? When the soul is either commended or admonished, and as a secret Observer and Judge of itself is acquainted with its own manners ? I use this power myself and daily accuse myself, or pleade my Cause before myself. When the Candle is taken out of my sight and my wife holds her Tongue, then according to my custom I search over the whole day with myself. I measure over again my Doings and my Sayings. I hide nothing from myself, I overpass nothing ; for why need I fear any of my Errors, when I can say, See that thou do so no more. I now forgive thee. In such a Disputation thou speakest too contentiously : engage not hereafter in Disputes with them that are ignorant. They that have not learned will not learn. Such a man thou didst admonish more freely than thou oughtest ; and therefore didst not amend him but offend him. Hereafter, see, not only whether it be Truth which thou speakest, but whether he to whom it is spoken can bear the Truth.¹ If a Heathen can keep a daily reckoning with his soul, methinks a Christian might follow on the work of Examination once until he know his Condition. And when that is done he shall finde this Daily Reckoning, well managed, to be of unconceivable advantage for subduing corruption, and for growth in Grace."

We see, then, how profoundly moral, as Baxter conceived it, was the relation of faith in Heaven to the Christian life on earth. Nothing more easy than to lose the final rest by drifting into a state of practical disobedience to the will of Christ. Nothing more necessary, therefore, than stern and constant self-discipline.

Such ethical stringency was sure to draw upon him the charge of legality. He seemed to many too rigorous in his demands. The yoke of Christ is easy, they said, and his burden light ; but you make his yoke galling and his burden a crushing weight. To which Baxter answered, " I do but repeat the Master's own call. When he says follow me He calls you to his cross, his Gethsemane, his Calvary. He calls you to this because this is inevitable in such a world as the present and to such a Heaven of moral holiness to which He leads the way. But his yoke is easy and his burden light, all the same, when they are accepted from one whose redeeming love has kindled love in the redeemed. Let me remind you, also, of Paul's words, ' Our light affliction which is but for a moment is working out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' If you meditate on the glory as well as on the yoke and the burden, will they not appear incomparably light and easy ? " Thus he speaks, in effect, and thus he comes to what

¹ *Seneca de Ira lib. 3, cap 36.*

he described as the "close of all," that which he has had in mind all along as the Christian's "great duty," *viz.*, the duty of heavenly meditation.

"Is there a Rest, and such a Rest remaining for us? Why then are our thoughts no more upon it? Why are not our hearts continually there? Why dwell we not there in constant contemplation? Sirs, ask your hearts in good earnest, what is the cause of this neglect? Are we reasonable in this? or are we not? Hath the Eternal God provided us such a glory and promised to take us up to dwell with himself? and is not this worth the thinking on? Should not the strongest desires of our hearts be after it? And the daily delights of our souls be there? Do we believe this? And can we yet forget and neglect it?"

By what almost immediately follows, we are reminded that Baxter was preaching. For he goes on—"Christians, I beseech you, as you take me for your Teacher and have called me hitherto, so hearken to this Doctrin. If ever I shall prevail with you in anything let me prevail with you in this, to set your hearts where you expect a Rest and Treasure. Do you not remember, that when you called me to be your Teacher, you promised me under your hands, that you would faithfully and conscionably endeavour the receiving every truth, and obeying every command, which I should from the Word of God manifest to you? I now charge your promise upon you, I never delivered to you a more apparent Truth, nor prest upon you a more apparent duty than this."

There is no space even to mention the points on which he dilates, *viz.*, "directions to the Duty," a list of "hindrances," a description of its "Nature and advantages." But three observations may be made:—

(1) Baxter's psychology was sound. You realise heaven by thinking it, or by the power of a concentrated imagination. By the same means, also, you expel from the mind earthly temptations and cares. It is Paul's prescription: "Whatsoever things are true . . . honourable . . . just . . . pure . . . lovely . . . gracious . . . think on these things."

"If you give a man Aloes after Honey, or some loathsome things when he hath been feeding on Junkets, will he not soon perceive and spit it out? O, if we could keep the taste of our Soul continually delighted with the sweetness above, with what disdain should we spit out the baits of sin?"

So then "If thou art a man that is haunted with temptation . . . use much this powerful remedy, keep close with God by a *Heavenly Minde*. Learn this Art of Diversion, and when the temptation comes go straight to heaven, and turn thy thoughts to higher things: thou shalt find this a surer help than any other resisting whatsoever. As men will do with scolding women—let them alone and follow their business, as if they heard not what they said, and will sooner put

them to silence than if they answered them word for word, so do by Satan's temptations. It may be he can overtalk you, and overwit you in dispute, but let him alone . . . follow your business above with Christ and keep your thoughts to their *heavenly employment*, and you will this way sooner vanquish the temptation than if you argued or talked it out with the Tempter."

(2) There is much force in Baxter's plea that unless we meditate on the *end* of our journey we may grow very weary. If we are immortal ; if we are destined to live with Christ ; if God is using the discipline of our daily life—our poor commonplace daily life—to make us Christlike, then surely it were well to think of this more often and seriously than we do. There is too little of the " far look " in our faith nowadays. One is tempted to imagine, from the speech—yea and the silence—of many Christians, that, over against the conflicts and confusions of time, they have no better hope than the materialist. They are so discouraged and sad. For such Baxter's words are a tonic :—

" The Joy of the Lord is thy strength, and that Joy must be fetcht from . . . (Heaven) . . . the place of thy Joy ; and if thou walk without thy strength, how long dost thou think thou art like to endure ? "

(3) Nevertheless, Baxter went too far. He urged meditation on heaven too exclusively and demanded too much of it. He aimed to promote heavenly-mindedness. What he really often did was to promote a form of other worldliness which became very hurtful to the religious life of England, while not less hurtful was the reaction from it which took place in some who could not stand the strain. Baxter, with his habitual frankness, admitted the mistake in a reply¹ to Giles Firmin—a returned New England preacher and physician—who taxed him with it in a Treatise called *The Real Christian*. He admitted it as to the case of " melancholy " persons, and people of scant leisure from necessary duties. But he could not admit that he had asked too much of ministers ; and quoted his own experience :

" In all my meditations if I leave out Heaven . . . I leave out the sense and Life of all. Thence must I fetch my Light, or I must be in Darkness. Thence must I fetch my Life, or I must be Dead, and my *Motives* or I must be Dull, or not sincere ; and my daily comforts, or I must be uncomfortable or worse. My Hearing and Reading, and Studies grow to common things, if Heaven be not the principal part, My life groweth towards a common carnal Life, when I begin to leave out Heaven. Death groweth terrible to my thoughts, and Eternity strange and dreadful to me, if I live not in such frequent and serious thoughts of the Heavenly Glory as may render it familiar and grateful to my soul. Yea, I cannot think with any due *Knowledge, Love or Pleasure*, of the ever-blessed God himself, if I think of him only as he is revealed

¹ Dated Oct. 1st, 1670. He reminds Firmin, however, of certain qualifying passages in the *Saints' Rest*, which he had overlooked.

to us in this world, and not as we shall see him in the World of Light. I find myself but a common man, if Heavenliness make me not to differ, and I find myself unfit to Live or to Die, and that my soul is void of the true Consolation that is needful both in Life and Death, when I grow a stranger to Heavenly Thoughts, and consequently to Heavenly Affections, and that as nothing will serve turn instead of Heaven to be my Happiness, so nothing will serve turn instead of Heaven to make up the end of my Religion, and forme my Heart and Life to Holiness. And therefore by experience I counsel all Christians that are able to perform it, especially Ministers and Learned men, to be much in the serious fore-thoughts of Heaven, and to *Comfort themselves* and others with these words, that *We shall for ever be with the Lord.*"

To sum up. With his presuppositions Baxter was right. But our modern criticism questions these. We no longer think of the world as an evil place, given over to its doom ; nor of men as born merely in order to study how to die ; nor of death as putting an end to God's redeeming grace. We believe rather that the world is meant for the Kingdom of God, for His universal Reign in the wills of men ; and that men are set here to seek first this Kingdom and its righteousness ; and that the way to do so is to lose our life in unselfish service for Christ's sake—sure that the life thus lost will be gained unto life eternal. Jesus, we find, made but few direct references to the future, whether under the aspect of heaven or hell. Nothing was more certain to Him than the life eternal, but the essence of that life is holy love. Its possession, therefore, is possible on earth ; and is the best pledge and foretaste of heaven. So we now justly lay the emphasis on the present task : only let us not forget that the Master also exhorted his disciples to consider the end and watch for His appearing, and that one who realises the danger which lies in " the cares of this world " will not seldom feel it wise to visit those springs of heavenly meditation which, amid many sorrows, refreshed and sustained the soul of Baxter.

F. J. POWICKE.

THE COMING REVIVAL : AN APPEAL TO BUSINESS MEN.

THE Rev. C. M. Coltman's eloquent article¹ expresses a belief and a hope held by thousands of thinking men to-day in every sphere of circumstance and activity. There is a growing conviction that we are upon the eve of a new Pentecost. Minds sensitive to the inner significance of current events are tremulous with expectancy. The belief is growing that any day may witness a dynamic outburst that will resolve the apparently insoluble conflict in which every phase of life seems to be involved, place it in a new setting, and thus lead to a new harmony in the order of things.

The evidence for the justification of this faith in an imminent spiritual revival has already been stated in the article referred to and I do not wish to add to it save *en passant* in dealing with the sphere in which I believe that revival may well take its spring. It may not be in accordance with general expectation that any great spiritual revival can arise outside the ranks of organised Christianity, yet I profoundly believe that this will be the case. It will find its opportunity where life is most intense, its need where the conflict is most acute—and this is outside and not inside the Church.

For, regret it though we may, the fact is patent that the Church, as it is constituted to-day, no longer embraces humanity as it did. It has become an onlooker where before it was the arbiter and guide. Humanity, so to speak, has passed beyond its portals, and with it all the intense problems in which life becomes vivid and crucial. Not so long ago the great problems of life were fought out within the arena of the Church and in the light of its teaching ; to-day the conflict is being waged outside—on its doorstep, if you will, but still outside. The Church no longer exercises the central and decisive rôle ; it is little more than a spectator, interested as it may be, yet almost powerless to intervene.

It is a common taunt that the Church has lost its hold upon the people. The truth, however, may not be quite so simple as that. May it not be that the great eternal conflict of right and wrong has changed into something infinitely more complex, has become not so much individual as social, not so much personal as impersonal ? The wrong once capable of isolation in the individual conscience has by complex multiplication become an immense disorder infecting the whole social organism and involving the innocent with the guilty. The Church still has the power to speak to the individual heart and mind, but it cannot do so in the same clear, authoritative way as of old. Of what use to

¹ Congregational Quarterly, III, 54.

speaking truth and honesty to the workman whose whole livelihood may easily depend upon his acquiescence and connivance in the very opposites of those qualities in his daily work ; of what use to talk charity to the struggling employer faced with a pitiless economic warfare that knows neither charity nor mercy ? The Church may charge the consciences of men in matters of lust, intemperance and greed ; how can it charge the conscience of a great conglomerate system with " no body to be kicked or soul to be damned " ? It is no longer so much personal sin with which it has to deal ; it is sin consolidated by usage, grown Gargantuan by coalescence ; it is the sin of society and of the modern world.

Let nothing I have written be held to detract from personal responsibility for sin ; my object rather has been to show that sin has become more than personal—it has become communal. It is precisely because of this that the Church—apart from other causes into which there is no need to enter here—has lost its appeal. This, however, may not be for long. Given faith and patience and eternal vigilance in the things of the spirit its opportunity will come again. If it can seize this opportunity it can stimulate and finally dominate the greatest revival this world has ever known.

What then is the position to-day ? The world is being rent by a warfare in which stand opposed two immense forces that are rapidly being locked in a tragic, and it may be, conclusive, struggle. One may call these Capital and Labour. At the best, these are crude, indiscriminate names that are bound to confuse by the possibility of infinite interpretation. Let them stand, however, to illustrate the supreme clash and conflict that is now dividing men. Life to-day has become economic in character where before it was social or individual. A new element has appeared to colour the relationships of men. The growth of immense capitalist corporations on the one hand and of equally powerful trade unions on the other has led to a domination of human relationships by considerations that may and often do lie quite outside the ambit of personal regard and association. Master and man no longer meet upon a free footing ; each in his turn is tied by obligations that make anything like free and untrammelled relationships well-nigh impossible. They are no longer free agents.

A single illustration will light up the force of this contention. At the moment of writing, lock-out notices have been posted by all employers of the London Wholesale Clothing Association. These, it is calculated, will shortly throw 25,000 men and women out of employment, and this at a time when this particular trade should be at its busiest. The trouble has arisen through the action of a number of cutters engaged in a clothing factory in London who, failing to secure the advance in wages they demanded, promptly ceased work. The employers reported the matter to their Association and the lock-out notices are the result. The fact that in the majority of factories that will

shortly be idle the relationships between masters and men are perfectly amicable does not enter into the question. The Employers' Association, by the nature of its obligations, cannot, on the one hand, dissociate itself from its suffering member, or, on the other, distinguish a handful of rebel workers from the main body of the Union. If there must be war then let it be war between every member of the opposing parties.

The merits of this dispute do not concern us here. What we are concerned to note is the disastrous effect upon the personal relationships of those employed in the industry. A master may say to his man, as undoubtedly in some instances he will, "I am sorry, Jack; I've no quarrel with you, but I am bound by my Association, and next Friday you will have to quit work"—but this will not feed a hungry man or dispel the feeling of injustice that must enrage his mind. How can a man love his neighbour when external demands have such an imperative claim upon him? I am well aware that a heart dictated by true Christian charity will find means of annulling as far as possible the effects of such catastrophic actions as these. A man may be a convinced capitalist and still be actuated by Christian principles. Is it not on record that the late Lord Rhondda, when as D. A. Thomas he was fighting his sternest battle with the Welsh miners, gave liberally to the support of the men's wives and children, and when called to account by his fellow masters, retorted: "However much I am determined to defeat the men, I have no quarrel with the women and children"? Cases of this kind, even if not isolated, do not alter the fact that the organisation of our economic life to-day represents a bitter warfare between rival groups and forces which cannot do other than embitter human feeling and corrode the relationships between man and man.

Now there are two factors in this situation which are worthy of attention.

1. The fight that is being waged is becoming daily more intense. No one who views the matter with an alert and impartial mind can doubt this. Statistics of labour troubles during the last few years alone prove it. What, however, is all-important is the attitude of mind that is being provoked upon both sides. The uselessness of compromise is rapidly becoming an ingrained conviction. Every disputed question, as it arises, is coming to be regarded as a *casus belli*. Each party, with its eye upon the coming struggle, estimates its own strength and its opponent's weakness and manœuvres accordingly. The spirit of compromise is subordinate to that of compulsion. The desire for supremacy at all costs is the dominant note. That nothing can ever be achieved without the display or use of superior force is becoming a settled habit of mind.

2. The second fact—however contradictory at first glance it may seem—is that along with this intensification of the struggle are evidences of a growing conviction of the futility of a system which makes of

the reconciliation of human interest a hostile, bitter conflict. The *reductio ad absurdum* of the position is being plainly perceived by men in both camps. Where rival interests seem so unalterably opposed permanent peace seems quite out of the question. Indeed, peace, in present circumstances, can never really be peace; at the best it can only be a truce or an armistice. Every success or defeat leads but to a lull wherein preparations can be made for a fresh massing of forces with ultimate renewal of the conflict. So long as the rival aims of the two forces remain in essence antagonistic and irreconcilable so long will peace be a matter of tactics or the temporary mastery of one party and not the mutual accommodation of apparently opposing interests.

The analogy between this state of affairs and that of actual warfare between nations is irresistible. There comes a moment in every great military conflict, particularly when the forces employed are indeterminate and apparently inexhaustible, where the futility of war as a means to an end strikes home to every thinking mind. As a matter of expediency alone all purposes seem to be defeated. Win or lose we have nevertheless lost becomes the startlingly but inescapably clear conclusion. If ever proof is needed that war is wrong, surely it is this—that even the rightness of a just cause seems to disappear in the wickedness of the conflict. Nothing can atone, whatever the cause, for the shedding of human blood, and nothing can atone, however genuine be the disagreement, for the intense misery and unhappiness that industrial and economic conflict, upon anything like an organised scale, inflicts upon thousands of human beings.

What then? What hope can there be here of a great spiritual revival? Every hope, I firmly believe. There has never yet been a great revival of religious feeling and experience where the need was not surpassingly great. "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." And the need is clearly present. On the one hand a Church whose teaching of personal piety seems utterly out of date; on the other a business and economic life that is frankly un-Christian. Was ever human need so great since the creation of the world? Moral and spiritual bankruptcy is staring humanity in the face, yet humanity awaits the word that will bring new hope. When that word shall be spoken, however it may be, there will be a resurgence of feeling and an uprising of spirit unparalleled since the Day of Pentecost. Fellowship and Brotherhood may be empty phrases as they are current to-day but they stand for something infinitely real and precious in the minds of men. The word that can make them vital will vibrate in every sensitive heart; it will gather around it all the intense idealism and love of peace of which modern men and women, despite the materialism in which life is so deeply embedded to-day, are still capable. Immediately men, whatever their position in the industrial world, realise the stark and naked truth that there can be no issue to the present opposition of interests other than defeat and humiliation that will

involve all in common disaster the gospel of reconciliation and love will be assured of its reward.

That day may not be far distant. There are signs that it may be very near indeed. Some seemingly trivial event such as the pledge of a number of men in the thick of the conflict to re-fashion their association upon a higher ethic may easily be the focal point around which may rally all the feelings that now lie inchoate and inarticulate. The time is ripe for a new appeal to every business man within reach of the voice of the Church. Business, as an activity of life, is—or should be—as much subject to the moral and spiritual law of Christ as the ordinary actions of private life. That is a truism that cannot be denied without a denial of Christ Himself. Yet the fiction that “Business is business” and has nothing to do with morality is maintained on every hand. It is this assumption that the economic life is governed by laws having no connexion with the moral and spiritual law that is the cause and sanction of most of the inequities in our business and moral life. The Church has the right to call upon every business member of its communion to avow his discipleship as much in his business as in his private life.

Already movements like C.O.P.E.C. and the Christian Order of Industry and Commerce are preparing the way for such an avowal. But why the hesitancy and timidity with which all these efforts are directed? Would it be an outrageous thing for a business man to print at the head of his notepaper: “Christ is the Head of this concern and His law of Love and Service its first Article of Association”? Progressive firms to-day are publishing their Statements of Policy as a means of securing the confidence and maintaining the goodwill of their customers. Even the advertising fraternity have bound themselves in a published pledge of “Truth in advertising.” Would the sacrifice be too great—if indeed any sacrifice can be too great to secure the victory of Christ in the world—if business men made their profession of faith in such terms as these¹:

1. We acknowledge Christ as the Head of this concern and His law of Love and Service as its first Article of Association.
2. Our responsibility towards those employed in the business as well as towards those of the outside public with whom we deal is determined by our allegiance to Him.
3. Our motive in dealing with the general public is that we may serve in the fullest possible degree their wants and needs.
4. Since every individual man and woman is equally precious in God's sight we regard human labour as a God-sent gift that demands in return:

¹ A “Statement of Aims” upon these lines was embodied in one of the early publications of the Christian Order of Industry and Commerce and represents one of the finest professions of Christian faith as applied to business and industry ever framed.

- (a) Adequate means to maintain life in reasonable comfort.
- (b) Provision in times of emergency and sickness, and when active work is over.
- (c) The best and most healthy conditions under which the "gift" is exercised.
- (e) Full and complete freedom for the development of this "gift" in an enriched personality and service.

These requirements demand that their satisfaction shall be a first charge upon the business.

- 5. We regard the receipt of money and the disposal of profits as a trust imposed upon us to be administered in the best interests alike of those engaged in the business and of those who contribute to or benefit by its activities.
- 6. Our aim is so to conduct our business that human life may be enriched and the evils of poverty, selfishness and human misery annulled.

Is such a frank and unequivocal profession of faith impossible to execute under our modern system of commerce and industry? If it is then there can be no hope for the system as it stands; it is doomed to disruption and decay. If it is not impossible then the concerted action of a number of Christian men in business may easily be the harbinger of the new revival so anxiously sought for and desired.

W. T. CARTER.

THE MEANING AND VALUE OF PRAYER.

"SIR," says Dr. Johnson, "there is no argument for prayer." The problem of prayer admits only of a practical solution. To know what prayer means, and what it does, a man must pray. We are all pragmatists here ; and the practice of prayer seems so much more important than any theorising about it, that the present paper must begin with an *apologia* for a treatment of the subject which is frankly theoretical rather than devotional. All that need be said, however, is that a theory of prayer is neither unnecessary nor irrelevant to the mature Christian experience. Behind the practice of prayer lies the soul's belief in God ; and that belief has a content which theology attempts to present in rational terms. If it be objected that theology never completely succeeds in rationalising belief, it must be urged in reply that at any rate the impulse towards that rationalisation is as genuine a factor in Christian experience as the faith it seeks to vindicate and explain. "Metaphysics," said the late Mr. F. H. Bradley, "is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe upon instinct, but to find these reasons is no less an instinct." This is certainly true of theology in so far as this takes its rise from the soul's demand that the content of belief shall be, if not logically demonstrable, at least rationally articulate. Perhaps, too, in spite of the transcendence of the themes and the limitations of our minds, the "reasons" need not be "bad" after all. No other justification for theology is needed. In the case of prayer, theories are not gratuitous subtleties with which simple faith has no concern. For simple faith holds a theory somewhere implicit in it, and neither its moral earnestness nor its spiritual fervour will lose anything, but, on the contrary, will gain, as the result of a resolute attempt to think out clearly what praying really means.

Our point of view is settled for us in advance. We cannot pretend to take up a detached standpoint. We are not trying to discover whether we can possibly believe in prayer : we believe in it already. The result of our enquiry will justify our belief ; but to justify it is not our first concern. It is rather to explain it—to draw out its content and make that coherent and intelligible. It follows, therefore, that for us the fact of prayer cannot be what it is for purely scientific workers in the field of religious phenomena. We cannot see it in a coldly objective way, from the outside, as it were. We are not impartial observers ; prayer means so much to us. Our treatment throughout must presuppose the specifically Christian view of God and the world. All the same, however, the findings of the science of religion upon the fact of prayer are full of significance for us. They enable us to assume,

as a position beyond all cavil, that prayer is *natural*. In the genuine sense of a much abused word, it is instinctive, as religion itself is instinctive. We need not be careful to distinguish prayer from the religious attitude in general. Prayer is worship, and worship is prayer, and both are religion. Later on we shall see how this naturalness, this normality, of prayer contributes to its value and efficacy. At present, taking our departure from the fact of prayer as it appears to a scientific observer, we note that it appears at the earliest levels of human culture, and that prayer and religion may exist side by side with magic, which, though externally not unlike them in its manifestations, is widely diverse in presupposition and aim. Both employ rite and ceremony and verbal formulæ. A spell may be expressed in nearly the same words as a prayer. But this superficial resemblance, although making possible a certain degree of mutual influence, only masks a profound difference which will repay examination.

Primitive man, in his dealings with external nature, alternates between extremes of optimism and pessimism, between consciousness of knowledge and power, and consciousness of ignorance and weakness. His progress in the arts and in his rule-of-thumb knowledge of the order in nature, arouses what the psychologist calls positive self-feeling, elation and self-confidence. He finds that nature responds to his working, and is obedient to his will. When he makes a wax image of his enemy and slowly melts it before the fire, he believes that he is killing his enemy. While for us there is something mysterious and uncanny about such a proceeding, for primitive man magic is essentially scientific, if the anachronism be pardoned. The wax image is like his enemy, and since like influences like, his enemy will sicken to death as the wax melts away. For him this has all the rationality that a chemical equation has for us. In fact magic is simply applied science in its crude, wrong-headed beginnings. In these pseudo-scientific principles which underlie magic primitive man finds a powerful instrument for compelling nature to do his will. In the main, that will is selfish and anti-social. For magical lore is conceived to be possessed in its fulness only by an individual here and there, a witch doctor or medicine man, to whom enormous power over his fellows accrues in consequence.

But the mood of elation and self-confidence passes away. There are some powers in nature which baffle man's attempts to control them. The lightning, the earthquake, the flood, the drought, the epidemic—these often prove not to be amenable to spells. Thus arises negative self-feeling, the feeling of dependence, and submissiveness to the dread powers controlling these terrible visitations. Nothing remains but to pray to the offended deities, to entreat their pity and forgiveness. In this mood, man is conscious only of his own insignificance and utter dependence upon the unseen. He no longer imagines that he can bend the universe to his will; he must bow in resignation until he can

find means of appeasing the anger of the gods by sacrifice and gift. From magic he turns to religion : from spell and charm to prayer.

Now it would be unhistorical, probably, to regard religion as coming to birth out of the failure of magic. Magic and religion are not so much successive stages in man's development, as alternating moods and attitudes of the soul. The magical attitude, again, may persist long after the advance of genuine knowledge has brought the specifically magical practices into discredit. It may even infect religion in its higher stages ; and such infection is shown in the purely magical attitude of mind, not unknown even in some types of Christian prayer, in which God is regarded almost as an instrument or tool with which the soul may the more easily achieve its manifold purposes. Such an "instrumental" view of God and of the effect of prayer upon God is the very sign-manual of the magical attitude, to which that of religion and true prayer is diametrically opposed. Magic is ego-centric ; man is the centre of the universe and all else must be adjusted to his needs and desires. Religion is theocentric ; God is the centre of the universe, and man's only hope of worldly prosperity, to say nothing of spiritual salvation, lies in his recognising his dependence upon God, and his need of adjusting his will to meet God's demands. To put it in another way, if magic is the will to power, religion is the will to trust.

" Ah Love ! could thou and I with fate conspire
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Would we not shatter it to bits,—and then,
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire ! "

That is precisely what magic tries to do—to effect a change in external nature, in the universe, in God—to bring things "nearer to the Heart's Desire." But in the religious attitude of surrender the man himself is changed, for he is brought into harmony with Eternal Goodness.

Prayer in all its forms, from the crudest to the most perfect, is, fundamentally, simply the consciousness and expression of this attitude of dependence upon God and surrender to His will. This is the *differentia* of prayer. For in prayer the soul is conscious both of itself and of God, and of itself as related to God, as dependent upon Him. Whatever development we may find in spiritual experience will be reflected in prayer as this consciousness of a relation between the soul and God. Let us look at that development from our Christian standpoint.

At the earliest stage man is more conscious of his weakness than of his sin. He is conscious of a need, and his need throws him back upon God. His own weakness and finitude are set against the background of God's omnipotence and infinity. He prays that God will give him what he cannot secure for himself. He may think of God, not as a vengeful and capricious deity, but as a Father, benign and compassionate,

who will have pity upon his weakness, and give him his heart's desire. He prays for those things which he imagines he needs most—for fruitful fields, for material prosperity. If he prays for forgiveness at all, it is likely that even as he prays his sin is not uppermost in his thought. His sin, he thinks, may be a hindrance to God's favour, and so he prays for its pardon and removal. But he is not deeply concerned about his sin *as sin*. He tends to regard it as merely incidental to his weakness; and that God should take any other view of it seems unthinkable. God is his Father, whose delight is to supply the needs of His children; and as for the forgiveness of sins—*c'est son métier*. At this stage, therefore, man is more conscious of his wants than of his sin. His God is a benevolent Universal Provider, who gives royally and makes few demands in return. The relation of dependence is conceived as mainly that of creature upon creator, of finite upon infinite. It is a natural relation; and the soul is as yet unconscious that the relation has changed or even that it can be changed.

But the first realisation of guilt lifts prayer to a higher stage. Here the soul becomes conscious of God's holy demand and of its own moral failure and rebellion. Faith is no longer an easy, glib thing. It is hard to believe that God is a benign Father, for man feels his remoteness from God, his perdition, his hopeless struggle after righteousness. Prayer becomes a cry for mercy. The soul's need has changed. No longer does man set the highest value upon material prosperity, upon *goods*, but upon *goodness*, without which he is lost eternally. The old relation has broken down under the strain of guilt. Renewal, reconciliation, regeneration—these are needed before the relation of human son to divine Father can be restored.

But the soul's travail ends at last. The anguish through which man has passed was more than physical and spiritual exhaustion—more, even, than moral bankruptcy. It was a very death. But now man lives again, and his new life is not a mere resuscitation of the old. It is something other than the sudden revelation of latent goodness. It is God's gift, God's new creation. The relation of the soul to God has itself been made anew. It is no longer merely that of creature to creator, of finite weakness to infinite strength; nor is it the relation of trembling sinner to angry Judge. It is the relation of redeemed to Redeemer, of the new man in Christ Jesus to the Holy Father. There has been a reconciliation through redemption. Man has been brought to God's point of view through the renewing of his mind. He sees his life as God sees it; his sin as judged by God upon the Cross; his destiny as willed by God in the Eternal Son. The last vestige of the old ego-centric attitude towards life is done away. No longer is God a beneficent Universal Provider whose one function is to minister to man's wants. God is now a Holy Father whose love has laid the soul under an eternal debt. So life gains a new value. Its worth is measured not by its own standard, but by God's. Its destiny

s not self-aggrandisement, nor self-realisation, even, but to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever. And yet it is self-realisation, too; for when the soul loses its life in this glad surrender, it finds it again in sacrificial powers and splendours to which the timid self-culture of the natural man can never attain.

What, now, at this, the highest stage, is the supreme object of prayer? Not goods now, not even goodness, but rather God Himself. Nothing less than the Holy God Himself can meet the soul's need, and satisfy its hunger. All true prayer really seeks God Himself rather than the gifts He bestows; and God has answered all our prayers in advance by giving us Himself in Jesus Christ.

We must now turn to the second part of our subject. What is the value of prayer? Fifty years ago the general trend of scientific thought was frankly hostile to religion. Prayer, in particular, seemed grotesquely irrelevant within a universe governed by immutable natural law. This attitude of nineteenth century science has had an influence upon Christian thought. It has pruned away certain crude notions of the miraculous. Science has compelled the recognition in reality of two worlds, the material and the spiritual, although as regards the existence of the latter science has often been agnostic. In any case its concern has been predominantly with the material world, which it has exhibited as the domain of rigid natural law. If prayer is to have place and value, therefore, it must belong not to the material world, where it is an impertinence, but to the spiritual, the world of grace. Christian thinkers have tended to acquiesce in this cleavage of reality into two disparate fragments which science seemed to demand. The habit of mind engendered by it has made it well nigh impossible for us to bring ourselves to pray for rain or fine weather—to take a trivial example. But these concessions to science were of small profit to Christian apologetic, so long as science, by a relentless extension of the principle of mechanism into the region of life and mind, was reducing the territory and threatening the independence of that spiritual realm with which prayer has to do.

Now recent developments in science and philosophy make us wonder whether this surrender to the dualism of nineteenth century science was not at any rate premature. One of the ablest of living scientists has entered a vigorous protest against this separation of material and spiritual, this "bifurcation of nature," as he calls it. The present tendency of science seems to be towards reuniting the material and spiritual once more. But there is no hint of a return to the materialistic monism of Haeckel. On the other hand, the startling possibilities opened up by the theory of relativity point to a universe which is mental and spiritual throughout—which has neither existence nor meaning apart from minds and centres of experience. Science, by way of a more searching criticism of its fundamental concepts, is reaching a position which is certainly not irreconcilable with the

historic world-view of Christianity, viz., that the whole universe is finally interpretable only in terms of spirit ; that the material exists in and for the spiritual ; that the key to the whole—the truth of the whole—lies in the relation of God in redemption to a guilty race.

This beginning of a rapprochement between science and religion may serve as an excuse for leaving untouched what has been generally regarded as the crux of all the difficulties about prayer, *i.e.*, how far we are to conceive of God as working a miracle in answering it. But another problem can be raised, still under the influence of the science of yesterday, which is more important because it concerns the nature of God and of His plan and purpose in the world. Supposing God to be all-wise, all-loving, all-powerful, and all-good, will not His will be done in any case? Why pray, therefore? Why entreat God to do what His own nature binds Him to do, and what He must do, therefore, even in the absence of all faith and prayer? Here we have, in modern trappings, the old doctrine of predestination in its cruder form. For, underlying this view, is a notion of God and of the meaning of omnipotence, which is simply the personification of the uniformity of nature and nature's law, as understood by nineteenth century science. The law of God's nature is the apotheosis of natural law ; and even the course of the universe of redemption with God at its heart, is to be interpreted, on the analogy of external nature, in terms of process and inexorable mechanism.

Before commenting further on this particular view, which would reduce the whole course of Christian experience to a meaningless play of shadows, a mere *epiphenomenon* out of all effective relation to the purposes of God and the destiny of the soul—we must remind ourselves once more that prayer is the expression of a relation between the soul and God, and, as such, involves a particular view of God and the world. We have seen that at its highest this prayer-relation is that of redeemed to Redeemer. To the question—what is the universe like if prayer is to be effective within it?—we can only return one answer. The universe is moral throughout. It consists of persons in relation to one another and to God. The powers and forces at work within it are to be construed in terms of their highest manifestations, viz., in terms of moral personality. Therefore the power or energy which prayer exerts must be of the same nature. How much is involved in this will be plainer as we proceed.

No one can dispute what is called the subjective value of prayer, *i.e.*, its influence upon the man who prays. By the very fact that he prays he is brought into harmony with the will of God in proportion to the sincerity of his prayer. Prayer allays the fever of the soul, restores self-control, and gives peace of mind. In this sense, at any rate, prayer makes a difference and has a value. Nor is this surprising, for, as we insisted at the beginning, prayer is natural ; it is part of our normal human nature. If it be objected that the natural man does

not pray, one may reply that in this respect, at any rate, the natural man is unnatural and abnormal. For the average man is not necessarily the normal man. Modern psychology, indeed, asserts that there is in most of us a strain of abnormality, some over-developed or under-developed "complex," some instinctive function that is being "repressed." Repression makes for psychical disturbance, sometimes for bodily disease, and always for weakness. If the natural man is repressing the instinctive impulse to pray, then so much the worse for him. Faith-healing is a vexed question just now, but one suggestion can be made with perfect safety. If prayer is natural, then it has its own indispensable function in the preservation of the health and well-being of the whole man. To encourage sufferers to pray and trust in God seems therefore perfectly scientific. For prayer liberates curative energies, which may, upon occasion, be sufficient to restore the balance of the metabolic processes of health and disease.

But is this all? Is prayer merely a type of refined auto-suggestion? Is its value only subjective? We have noticed already a view of God and God's purpose which makes it impossible that prayer should have any effect upon God, however great its effect may be upon the praying soul. That view rests upon false assumptions about divine omnipotence and divine working in the moral universe. Again we must insist that in a moral universe all powers and energies must be interpreted in moral terms. This leaves no room for the crude, quasi-magical notion of a God who can do what He likes, when and how He likes. It is not enough to limit omnipotence by an appeal to God's Holy Will; not enough to say that He cannot will anything not in perfect accord with His own nature. It must also be recognised that He is limited by the finite wills He has created. If His will is to be done on earth, it can only be at the cost of a conflict in the moral realm. God's victory is, in the real sense of the word, a moral victory; a victory not to be won by benevolent coercion or any kind of *force majeure*, but only by a final act of holy love, great enough and drastic enough to break our pride and turn judgment into redemption. Accordingly, God's purpose cannot be conceived as a predetermined course of events in which our individual lives have each an unalterable place and function, whether we will or no. The main purpose is already outlined and its victory assured in the Cross. But for its application in detail, so to say, it waits upon human co-operation, within the sphere of redemption, *i.e.*, within that redemptive relation in which the new man in Christ Jesus stands to God. Now it is within this relation that prayer is powerful—how powerful we do not know, but certainly more powerful than we have ever dreamed.

Can we say more where so much is mysterious? Is it possible to trace the main lines of prayer's operation? To begin with, if prayer is the expression of a relation between the soul and God, it is absurd to regard it as having only a subjective value. If through prayer a man

is brought into closer relation with God, into greater harmony with the divine will, is it not obvious that God can do more with that man than He could before? And is not God's will fulfilled and His eternal purpose furthered in this very fact? When we pray "Thy will be done," our prayer brings home the first-fruits of its answer. In spite of all the problems of unanswered prayer, we catch glimpses of the truth that prayer is never really unanswered; and our "Thy will be done" is not fatalistic resignation, but a loving co-operation with the God whom, not wholly apprehending, we wholly trust in Jesus Christ His Son.

But what of intercessory prayer? Here again we remind ourselves that no soul is isolated in the universe. It is environed by other souls, and all souls are related to God. The influence of environment upon human personality can hardly be over-estimated as long as it is understood that the environment which really counts is the moral environment—*i.e.*, the selves with whom we are in relation, rather than the things which surround us. Now, prayer changes this environment. The man who prays stands in moral relations to those for whom he prays. As he prays his attitude towards them undergoes a change. He enters into their experience by sympathetic understanding; he intercedes for them; puts himself in their place as we say. Already he was part of their environment, for the moral universe is a whole; and, just because the moral universe is a whole, a change in any member of it is a change in the whole. Prayer thus brings into being a new relation between him who prays and those for whom he prays. In the case of a mother interceding for a wayward son, it is easy to see how prayer will affect her own attitude towards him. She will enter into his experience, she will identify herself with him, and offer for him the prayer he will not pray. We have here an instance of the vicarious principle. The actual influence exerted by her prayer upon his life we cannot hope to trace. Answered prayer has its mystery no less than prayer which seems unanswered. But although we cannot plot the path of the Holy Spirit, or make a diagram of the influence of grace, we do know something of the moral conditions of divine working. One of those conditions we have already stated, *viz.*, that God works in a moral universe among personalities related in a vital way both to Himself and to one another. It followed that a change in one member brought that member into new relations with God and all the other members of the moral universe. But now another condition comes into view. When the mother prays for her prodigal what element is it in her prayer which makes that prayer effective? One is tempted to answer that it is her mother's love, her natural sympathy with one who is physically part of herself. We may grant that human sympathy is an indispensable condition of vicarious faith and prayer. The Son of God could not have been our Saviour if He had not shared our full humanity. But human sympathy is not enough. Sheer pity

alone could never have saved the world. A mother's love might lead her to make excuses for her son, to condone his guilt. But if her prayer is to be mighty, it must be so not because of her sympathy with her son, but because of her sympathy with God, if the expression be allowed. She stands in spirit at her son's side as she prays, but nevertheless her prayer must be made from God's point of view and not his. It must be offered, that is to say, from within that redemptive relation where in the Cross God's holy love has made plain the awfulness of guilt.

Now it begins to appear why intercessory prayer in particular—and all prayer in general—has an objective value and efficacy. Prayer arises in the redemptive relation ; it is made from the standpoint of the Cross ; it is in a real sense the fellowship of the sufferings of Christ. The mightiest prayers are prayed under the shadow of Golgotha.

We have arrived at a profound truth which can only be stated here. The prayer-relation is sacramental. The true sacrament of divine grace is redeemed and sacrificial personality : " Regeneration is the true Transubstantiation " (Forsyth). A sacrament is just a channel, a path along which God draws near to man and strikes home to conscience. In prayer our hearts, minds, and wills are given to God our Redeemer ; the barriers of pride and rebellion are broken down ; and our humble lives are transfigured with the glory of the Presence. Through us, as His sacraments, God draws near to those for whom we pray. When we crown Christ in our hearts, the trumpets sound the " advance " along the whole battle-line of the Kingdom of Heaven. Our lives become the base for new attacks upon the slowly retreating forces of evil ; and God comes home in redemption to those who are without through the redeemed, whose high and solemn privilege it is, by faith and sacrifice and intercession, to share the travail which makes His Kingdom come.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

“EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT” : AN EXEGETICAL NOTE.

To some minds it may seem superfluous to offer a fresh discussion of the future punishment of the wicked. Yet the fact has to be faced that for multitudes the letter of Scripture survives all its interpretations, and the letter of Scripture, in one place at least, affirms that the punishment of some is everlasting. Moreover, as long as eminent New Testament scholars regard this particular subject as involved in an “insoluble antinomy”¹ or affirm with Professor H. R. Mackintosh that “on the general question whether the penalty of sin without excuse and without change will be unending, we must take an attitude of complete agnosticism”² those to whom such a position spells spiritual loss, if not positive disaster, are justified in continually re-attempting the problem.

It must be recognised that the presentation of the gospel and our growth in the grace it brings are weakened as long as men can point to a doctrine in our authoritative books which is disallowed by the best moral opinion of the world. And that is the position in which at present we stand with respect to this matter. Probably there still are those like the philosopher James Mill of last century, by whom it is assumed that Christianity teaches the everlasting punishment of vast numbers of the human race, and who find in this an overwhelming objection to its moral ideal. In a *Congregational Quarterly*³ notice of the Rationalist Press Association *Annual* for 1925 it is observed that in the objections therein offered to Christianity “‘eternal punishment’ is still the main stock in trade.” A more important authority than the *Annual*, Mr. C. G. Montefiore,⁴ has stated, as one of the leading objections held by his Jewish co-religionists to the religious and moral teaching of the Synoptics, “its cruel pitilessness in apparently condemning so many unfortunate human children of God to an eternity of punishment and woe.” More recently,⁵ Mr. Montefiore has attributed to our Lord the doctrine that a man’s future for all eternity is “irrevocably determined” at death, “either for supreme good and felicity, or for supreme evil and unhappiness”; while of the verses at the close of *Matt.* 25 he observes, “very strangely are mixed up in them doctrine from which we turn in horror, and doctrine to which we look up with admiration. But,” he continues, “we can neglect the judgment upon

¹ *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 541.

² *Immortality and the Future*, second edition, p. 228.

³ Vol. III, p. 127.

⁴ *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1905.

⁵ In his *Liberal Judaism and Hellenism* (1918), pp. 99, 100, 106.

the ‘goats’ with its odious ‘Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil, and his angels’, as an awful aberration, etc., etc.”. That is, to say the least of it, extremely unfortunate, for we all respect Mr. Montefiore and the large class of persons he represents, both Jewish and Gentile.

If also we consider what is involved for Christian men in any acquiesced-in uncertainty regarding the moral quality of our Saviour’s eschatological teaching, perhaps we shall see therein one of the causes of the common slackness of our loyalty to Him. For if He did teach anything which may rightly draw upon it the censure of being “odious” (to use Mr. Montefiore’s word) then what can we do but sorrowfully dismiss Him from His unique position as our infallible guide in the things of God? So it seems that each new generation of Christian worshippers needs careful instruction as to the sense in which such phrases as “eternal fire” and “everlasting punishment” were used by Jesus. For the words do clearly stand there in the very forefront of the New Testament, and one assumes that they are still read both privately and in the regular worship of our Churches. In the latter connexion we venture to ask, “Do ministers, when they come to these verses, pause to explain them? If they do, what explanation do they give?” It is certainly desirable that our congregations should be told that the Christian religion does not uphold such a belief in future punishment as would involve endless torments for any human being, but it is almost equally desirable that they should know the true ground on which such a belief is rejected.

Now in this paper no effort will be made to consider the Biblical doctrine of retribution in its entirety. That would involve a thorough examination of the relevant texts in their contexts—a task requiring the space of a book. Of course any one who seeks to throw light upon the mystery of doom naturally must address himself first of all to just such an undertaking as this, at least in his private lucubrations. Here, however, all that is offered is some discussion of the Gospel phrase, αἰώνιος κόλασις, everlasting punishment.

First of all, it should be said firmly that no gain accrues from the Revisers’ substitution of *eternal* for *everlasting*, seeing that in our ordinary English speech these two words mean the same thing. Probably, however, the motive of the change made was the suggestion of certain theologians of last century as to a “qualitative meaning” in αἰώνιος, which they would fain have read into “eternal”. Samuel Cox and Farrar were not alone in this. Westcott wrote of the word as “involving that of which time is no measure.” But we cannot safely eliminate the time-note from it. Moulton and Milligan in their *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* thus give the meaning of αἰώνιος, as commonly used in the first century: “In the vernacular as in the classical Greek, it never loses the sense of *perpetuus*”—and *perpetuus* certainly means *uninterrupted, everlasting*. “In general, the word

depicts that of which the horizon is not in view, whether the horizon be at an infinite distance, as in Catullus' poignant lines :

Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est *perpetua* una dormienda,

or whether it lies no further than the span of a Cæsar's life." If this latter illustration seems to suggest a possible escape from the conception of endlessness, yet the general verdict of the *Vocabulary* makes it evident that anyone who cares to render ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, *these shall go away into everlasting punishment* has a perfectly grammatical right to do so. Indeed, in the opinion of some of our best N.T. scholars, such as Professor H. A. A. Kennedy¹, there can be no doubt at all that such a rendering is the right one.

On the other hand the meaning of this adjective may be affected by that of the substantive to which it is attached. κόλασις occurs elsewhere in the N.T. only in 1 John 4¹⁸ (*fear hath torment* (A.V.) *punishment* (R.V.)). The *Vocabulary* gives the meaning here as *deprivation*: "Fear checks development, and it is the antithesis of τελείωσις which love works." The note also refers us to κολλάω in which the idea of *pruning* is accepted as "clearly a familiar sense during the N.T. period." Such a rendering harmonises with other passages in the Gospels as, e.g., the wonderful "salted with fire" in Mk. 9⁴⁹. Thus the phrase might be rendered *everlasting pruning*, and become paradoxical. In this case the proverbial hostility between noun and adjective would point certainly to a victory for the noun. It is still possible, however, for the word to have a more general meaning. It is repeatedly used in the Septuagint of Ezekiel (14^{3, 4, 7}; 18³⁰; 44¹²) for הִשָּׁרֵף a *stumbling-block*. The connecting link between κόλασις and הִשָּׁרֵף lies perhaps in the striking use of κολλάω in Wisdom 11¹⁶—"by what things a man sinneth, by these he is punished." (See also Wisdom 16^{1,2}.) These references show that we cannot be perfectly sure of the remedial idea of the word in Matt. 25.

It will be admitted, however, by everyone that apart from the general usage of a word, or phrase, the particular context of the speaker must always be studied, if we are to gauge his meaning aright. We have therefore to consider the historic context in which Jesus lived and thought. A recent writer, Dr. Murray of Selwyn College, Cambridge, in his Hulsean Lectures, *The Goodness and Severity of God*,² offers an interpretation, based upon Jewish Apocalyptic, that claims for it a special significance. His position is that all our Lord's language upon Judgment to come was bounded by the limits of the Messianic age, and that that age was regarded by Him, in accordance with some of the Apocalyptic literature, as "mediatorial not final, its specific task being to bring into subjection every power that is out of harmony with the

¹ *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, p. 316.

² Reviewed in this Journal, III, p. 115.

Divine order” (p. 6). Evidently Dr. Murray does not regard the use of *αἰώνιος* in the vernacular of the first century as decisive for the Synoptic Gospels. Whereas the *Vocabulary* affirms that “the word depicts that of one of which the horizon is not in view,” Dr. Murray holds that at least in *Matt. 25* it stands for that of which the horizon is in view, that horizon being the moment indicated by St. Paul in the words of *1 Corinthians 15*²⁴, “Then cometh the end,” etc. He therefore tells us that the true Synoptic meaning of *αἰώνιος* is not *everlasting* or *eternal*, but rather “belonging to or sharing the characteristics of the New Order, and the Messianic age” (p. 63). He would prefer to render it by “æonian”, only, despite Tennyson, that word is not yet at home in English. Thus apparently, in Dr. Murray’s judgment, *αἰώνιος* in *Matt. 25* departs from its usual vernacular meaning and has a specialised significance intelligible to those first readers of the Gospel who were well versed in Apocalyptic literature. If his book should pass into a second edition, as one desires that it may, I respectfully suggest that Dr. Murray would greatly help the ordinary student by adding a detailed working out of this position. There may be a good deal more to be said for it than has so far been advanced by him, but, on the other hand, there are certain passages in the Jewish writings referred to which point in an opposite direction. Dr. Maldwyn Hughes’s excellent book, *The Ethics of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, seems to show that there was that same sort of diversity of thought about the Last Things amongst the Apocalyptists as amongst ourselves to-day. (See especially p. 311.)

To the present writer it does not appear as though the line taken by Dr. Murray is likely to help us so much as another, more in harmony with the general workings of the mind of our Lord, namely His dependence upon the O.T. That He was influenced somewhat by extra-canonical literature is clear enough, but it is yet clearer that His thought was thoroughly impregnated with O.T. teachings. If, as has been shown by several writers, the Heavenly Voice which spoke to Him at His baptism blended phrases from the prophets; and yet more, if in His dying moments His deepest distress found utterance in the cry of a psalmist, we are hardly likely to over-emphasise the O.T. as the *milieu* of His thinking.

Now there is one important fact which has generally escaped observation, but which lights up the whole subject with hope. *Prophetic voices in Israel repeatedly affirmed the conditional character of the judgment-decrees of God.* Crudely stated this meets us in the declaration that God sometimes repents of the evil that He has said He will do.

There are, it is true, two passages which discriminate between the Divine nature and the human by denying repentance to God. The first (*Numbers 23*¹⁹) is in the oracle of Balaam :

God is not a man that he should lie ;
Neither the son of man that he should repent.

We notice, however, that the statement is concerned with God's purpose of good towards His people, not with punishment. The second passage is 1 *Sam.* 15²⁹, the declaration of Samuel to Saul, "And also the Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for He is not a man, that he should repent." But this noble utterance is twice contradicted in the very same chapter, verses 11 and 35 distinctly affirming that Jehovah repented He had made Saul king. It is clear that the religious genius of the Hebrew people, motivated by an earnest moral practicality, was not careless of consistency when eager to teach some particular lesson.

Again, there are certain verses in which God is said not to have repented of a purposed evil (*Hosea* 3¹⁴, *Jer.* 4²⁸, *Ezek.* 24¹⁴, *Zech.* 8¹⁴). The force of these passages, however, is mitigated by the very implication they contain that the opposite course might have been regarded as possible.

Such an expectation would be based upon the many and various Scriptural declarations concerning the changing of Divine purpose. The most primitive statement of the kind is that in *Gen.* 6⁷—"it repenteth me that I have made man"—a saying which terrified my childhood with the same suggestion of horror as my discovery that there were atheists in the world. One can only assign the words to a very elementary Semitic theology, in which gods are not much above men. A persistence of this theology meets us in the passage already referred to admitting Jehovah's error in judgment concerning the appointment of Saul as king.

This crude ascription to the Deity of shortsightedness, caprice or instability, is in process of transmutation into something higher when Moses can pray, "Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people (*Ex.* 32¹²)," and again when it is declared, "The Lord shall repent himself for his servants (*Deut.* 32³⁶).". *Ps.* 90¹³ ("let it repent thee concerning thy servants") and *Joel* 2¹⁴ ("Who knoweth whether he will not turn and repent?") also look up to the Divine Being with wistful hope that a change may come upon His mind in response to human prayer.

Another group of passages records the definite reversal of penalties pronounced upon sinful men. Let the reader consider the following:

Ex. 32¹⁴. "And the Lord repented of the evil which he said he would do unto his people."

Judg. 2¹⁸. "It repented the Lord because of their groaning."

2 *Sam.* 24¹⁶. "And when the angel stretched out his hand toward Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord repented him of the evil."

Ps. 106^{44, 5}. "Nevertheless he regarded their distress, when he heard their cry: And he remembered for them his covenant, And repented according to the multitude of his mercies."

Jer. 26¹⁹. "And the Lord repented him of the evil which he had pronounced against them."

Amos 7³, 6 (=twice) “The Lord repented concerning this : It shall not be, saith the Lord.”

In four of these instances the Divine decree is changed in consequence of the intercession of a righteous man : in two, out of the sheer pity of the Lord for the sufferers : in one case, in answer to the repentance of sinners. The cumulative effect of these passages enables us to understand the extreme statement of *Jer.* 15⁶, that God’s repentings had been so numerous that He was “weary with repenting.” It is in this prophet that the primitive conception of the Divine instability finds its complete ethical redemption. Not only have we express statements (26³, 13, 42¹⁰) that Jehovah may repent of a purposed evil, but, in the famous parable of the potter, the prophet lays down a principle which is epoch-making for theology. The whole passage should be read but our special concern is with these words : “At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to break down and to destroy it ; If that nation concerning which I have spoken, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them (18”⁸).” Sir George Adam Smith, in his recent Baird lecture¹, comments thus upon the parable and the principle it affirms, “Thus by figure and by word the Divine Sovereignty was proclaimed as absolutely as possible. But the Sovereignty is a real Sovereignty and therefore includes Freedom. It is not fettered by its own previous decrees, as some rigorous doctrines of predestination insist, but is free to recall and alter these, should the human characters and wills with which it works in history themselves change. There is a Divine as well as a human Free-will.” These words should be written and italicised in all our soteriological thinking.

One gathers that Jeremiah’s principle had a formative influence in the minds of later prophets. In the fourth century B.C. Joel, in his summary of the orthodox creed, speaks of repentance as a characteristic of Jehovah : “He is gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy, and repenteth him of the evil.” Finally, the book of *Jonah* (perhaps a century later still) not only quotes Joel’s creed as generally accepted (*Jonah* 4²) but provides us with one magnificent illustration of its working in accordance with Jeremiah’s principle. “Yet forty (? three as in the Septuagint) days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. . . . And God saw their works, but they turned from their evil way ; and God repented him of the evil, which he said he would do unto them ; and he did it not (3⁴, 10).” There had been no offer of mercy in the prophet’s preaching. The doom pronounced upon Nineveh had been absolute and unequivocal. Yet was it reversed in response to the repentance of the inhabitants.

¹ *Jeremiah*, p. 186.

In this belief as to the Divine Sovereignty there is something congruous with the entire character of the Hebrew mind. The so-called historical books of the O.T. often display what modern historians would regard as almost a conscienceless subordination of record to idea. The events of the past are narrated, or omitted, in accordance with a mental frame, a religious mould. The outward in life is ever subordinated to the inward. The same mode of vision appears in the treatment of the future. Things are anticipated selectively, with a view to an immediate practical purpose. Some one aspect of the future is pictured in isolation from the whole scheme of things, in order to produce a certain effect upon the consciences of men. Hebrew genius is essentially poetic rather than forensic, ethical rather than scientific, practical rather than speculative. And it is with this genius we have to do in the words of Jesus.

The governing consideration for the interpretation of His teaching about Future Punishment is that He stood directly in the line of Jeremiah's thinking. They spoke better than they knew who said He was Jeremiah (*Matt.* 16¹⁴). For at the last He gave the world that New Covenant of which Jeremiah had so wonderfully written. All the best of that prophet's thinking re-emerges in the teaching of Jesus. May we not include therein his principle of the Divine Repentance? Is not that the accompanying assumption and true context of all our Lord's language of doom? If it be said that Jeremiah's principle was only applied by him to the judgments of God in this life, that is, of course, true. Jeremiah nowhere deals with any aspect of the life to come. But this does not affect the plea I have advanced, which is more concerned with a way of thinking than with one particular thought. Decrees of punishment were considered after this manner: they were contingent, and contingency implies a mind which facing the further unfoldings of life is predisposed to revision. This is the mind which we see at work in Jesus, and to see the character of His mind, its inheritance, and its scope, and quality, is even more important than to measure grammatically any specific words attributed to Him.

Once more: if it be said that Jeremiah's principle of the relativity of punishment has its counterpart in regard to the rewarding of the righteous, that also must be admitted. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; If it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them (18^{9,10})". Will it be possible, then, for the accepted of the Lord at any time to forfeit their heavenly bliss? The answer to this may seem to be covered sufficiently by St. Paul's answer to a question less momentous, when he declared, not of the dooms of the wicked, but of "the gifts and the callings of God," that these are "without repentance" (*Rom.* 11²⁹). But, in truth, the question is meaningless to anyone who himself has entered into the Divine Fellowship. "He that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit" (1 *Cor.* 6¹⁷). And

again : " I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creation, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord (*Romans* 8^{38,39}).

A. D. MARTIN.

CRUSHED ?

AM I quite crushed ?

The sharp-toothed harrow of rough circumstance
Hath torn my inmost soul ;
My flesh cries out, my very bones rebel,
The air is full of dole—
Yet I'm not crushed !

Can I yet hope ?

A dull despair hath well-nigh numbed my heart,
My sky is all one cloud,
The pulses of my being flicker faint,
Down to the earth I'm bowed—
Yet still I'll hope !

For God yet reigns !

The world is in the hollow of His hand,
His finger writeth doom.
I think that in some corner of His heart
For me there must be room,
With all my pains.

If I look back,

The way is full of bright remembrancers,
Where God did intervene.
Their flashing light dispels the present gloom,
And right ahead is seen
The forward track.

A. J. OWENS.

A CONTRAST.

The Early Days of Two Great Reformers : Town and Country.

THE LIFE OF FRANCIS PLACE (1771-1854). By GRAHAM WALLAS,
M.A. Longmans.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM COBBETT (1763-1835). By G. D. H.
COLE. Collins.

THERE is a word, now in daily use (and such words soon become well-worn, and consequently distasteful to the precious), which is far too useful a word to be disregarded by the wise and thoughtful. It is the word "Values". Everybody and everything, is, just now, being "revalued".

Our scanty hoard of books and mezzotints, our old silver and furniture, including even the reputations of our Parliamentary heroes, commonly called statesmen, of our favourite authors, whom we have already prematurely dubbed "classics", and our philosophers, once styled "profound," are all being subjected to these searching actuarial investigations ; and with disagreeable results.

Nor can it be truthfully asserted that these fluctuations in values are, in most cases, to be put down to mere senseless changes of fashion, or that the revolving years are likely to restore the tarnished fame and prices of many of these damaged goods. Carlo Maratti's pictures will never, so at least we feel sure, fetch the prices they once did in Christie's rooms. I choose an example not likely to give offence, for artists are accustomed to these melancholy reversals. Authors, once famous, however long they may have been dead, are "kittle cattle" to sneer at ; for is it not still remembered against Burke that once he asked, "Who now reads Bolingbroke?" . Whilst to predict oblivion, or even a heavy fall in the prices of their first editions, for living poets and novelists, would, and perhaps justly, be considered rude and unpardonably offensive.

But as politicians, alive or dead, have always been considered fair game for Witlings, it may safely be said that when the great Parliamentary figures, the heroes or acrobats of St. Stephen's, come to be considered, dispassionately, side by side with men outside that famous arena, who, as it has now been discovered, supplied the petrol which kept the Parliamentary machine in motion, they cannot stand the comparison.

The two excellent Lives named above, of Place and Cobbett, when read (and, though they are both biographies, they are easy and

exciting to read), are playing their part in this new valuation of politicians.

Grey, Melbourne, Canning, Brougham, Wellington (as a politician), Peel, Huskisson and Russell, under the scrutinising appraisements of the modern biographer and historian are not one half as "valuable" as either Place or Cobbett.

There is another phrase (we live in a phrase-ridden age) often employed by the harassed reviewer of a new book, anxious to be rid of his job, and yet bound to please the publisher who provides *gratis* the copies, on the steady supply of which the reviewer depends for his meagre livelihood, and it is this—"No student of this period can afford to be without this work." 'Tis a vile phrase, but one that flows glibly from the pen of a writer who has the satisfaction of knowing that he, at least, is going to get his copy of this essential work for nothing. But why pretend to be queasy about phrases? We say boldly that no student of English political history during the first half of the last century can afford to be without either of the two biographies already named, for within their animated pages you can over-hear, more clearly than anywhere else, the pulsation of the machine that has made the new England, we are now so anxious about, what it is.

During debates in the House of Commons, political and social, the important men who count for most in the Movements of their Age are as often as not, to be found jammed together (they are not always on speaking-terms with one another) in the Strangers' Gallery, whilst the supernumeraries, soon to be superseded, perorate on the floor.

It would be a pleasant task, but, as the two biographies before me have already secured for themselves a large circulation, an unnecessary one, to follow both Cobbett and Place from the cradle to the grave; for though it cannot be said that they hunted in couples, seeing that they disliked one another very cordially, yet both contributed, to a remarkable extent, to the political education of the nation, and must be reckoned among the most outstanding and influential men of their time.

I must, however, be content with brief sketches of the early days of these two champions of town life and country life.

Cobbett, as all readers of his *Rural Rides*—a book as lasting as the two masterpieces of Walton and of White—know well, was a countryman, born and bred; whilst Place, not to put too fine a point upon it, was not only a tailor, but a Cockney.

Let me begin with a whiff of the pure country air, as it could be breathed in Surrey in 1763. Cobbett was born in that year at Farnham, and to the end of his stormy days he boasted himself a Surrey man. To him the soil of England was a religion, and Surrey soil the best of all soils and of all religions. His father was a small

farmer, who also kept an inn, "The Jolly Farmer," just outside Farnham. His grandfather had been a day-labourer, working for one farmer for forty years. This grandfather died, wrote Cobbett, "before I was born, but I have often slept beneath the roof that had sheltered him. It was a little thatched cottage with a garden before the door. It had but two windows, a damson tree shaded one, and a clump of filberts the other."

Cobbett had three brothers all speedily employed on the land.

I do not remember the time when I did not earn my living. My first occupation was driving the birds from the turnip-seed, the rooks from the peas. When I first trudged afield, with my wooden bottle, and my satchel swung over my shoulders, I was hardly able to climb the gates and stiles. My next employment was weeding wheat, and leading a single horse at harrowing barley. Hoeing peas followed. Thence I arrived at the honour of joining the reapers in harvest, driving the team, and holding plough. We were all of us strong and laborious, and my father used to boast that he had four boys, the eldest of whom was but fifteen years old, who did as much work as any three men in the parish of Farnham.

Cobbett—as fine a master of plain, homespun, English prose, as ever lived, and the author and compiler of some thirty volumes of sound, honest stuff—had no school education.

I have some faint recollection of going to school to an old woman who did not succeed in teaching me my letters. In the winter evenings my father learnt us all to read and write, and gave us a pretty tolerable knowledge of arithmetic. Grammar he did not properly understand himself and therefore his endeavours to learn us that necessarily failed.

And yet the son, without ever going to school, lived to write his *English Grammar* (price 3s.), which had for long a huge circulation, and is still in high repute among book-lovers; and at the end of which may be found appended "Six lessons intended to prevent statesmen from using false grammar"!

If Presidents of the Board of Education, and Members of the National Union of Teachers, on reading—as I hope they have done or will do—Mr. Cole's biography, feel at times outraged by Cobbett's denunciations of organised education, and his too easy assumption that what his father did for him, and what afterwards he did for himself, all boys' fathers, and all boys could and would do for their children and themselves, let them not refuse to take to heart the lesson that lies beneath Cobbett's too violent invectives, which is, that unless a boy *wants* to learn, he won't learn anything worth remembering, whatever the salary of his teacher may be, or however many circulars may be issued from Whitehall bearing the impress of an imaginary Board.

But we must now exchange Surrey for the filthy purlieu of Drury Lane, and hear what Mr. Wallas has to tell us about the birth-place and breeding of Francis Place.

Francis Place was a Londoner, born in 1771, in a "sponging house," or private debtors' prison in Vinegar Yard, near Drury Lane, kept by his father, Simon Place, who was at that time a bailiff to the Marshalsea Court. . . . When Francis was nearly nine years old, Simon Place took a Tavern with the savings he had made by legalised blackmail.

Simon was a bony, muscular man, about five feet six or seven inches in height and very strong.

He never spoke to any of his children in the way of conversation. . . . If he were coming along a passage, and was met by either me or my brother he always made a blow at us with his fist. If we attempted to retreat he would make us come forward, and as certainly as we came forward, he would knock us down.

But enough, more than enough, of this ruffian, who was yet Place's father. What a contrast to Cobbetts'!

In the matter of school education, Place must, I suppose, be reckoned luckier than Cobbett, for he was sent regularly to some sort of a school in the neighbourhood of Drury Lane, from the age of four till he was nearly fourteen: what he learnt during these ten years, we are not told. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a drunken little wretch of a breeches-maker, who kept him at his needle till evening, when he was set free

to take his full share in that low incredible street-life which flourished in London before the new police. He was skilled in street games, a hunter of bullocks on the Strand, an obstinate faction-fighter, and a daily witness of every form of crime and debauchery. . . . He belonged to a "cutter club," an eight-oared boat's crew, who used to drink and sing together after the evening's row. The cockswain of the crew was some years later transported for a robbery, and the stroke-oar was hanged on a charge of murder.

And yet out of these Hogarthian horrors proceeded one of the most virtuous men of his time—at least as good a man as either George Grote or John Mill.

No contrast can certainly be made stronger than that between the childish days of Cobbett and Place. What room could be found in aristocratical England for them? They made room for themselves!

How did Cobbett first begin to assert that amazing "self," that was to grow into a memorable figure, by the side of which few of his political contemporaries could now dare to measure themselves? By running away from Farnham at the age of fourteen to get a job at Kew, the fame of the Gardens having already reached his ever-open ears.

I had always been fond of beautiful gardens. The next morning off I set with thirteen half-pence in my pocket. A long day (it was in June) brought me to Richmond. I was trudging through Richmond, in my blue smock frock and my red garters tied under my knees, when staring about me, my eye fell upon a little book in a bookseller's window, on the outside of which was written "TALE OF A TUB, Price

3d." . . . In I went and got the little book, which I was so impatient to read that I sat down on the shady side of a hay stack. The book was so different from anything that I had ever read before—it was something so *new* to my mind that though I could not understand some of it, it delighted me beyond description; and it produced what I have always considered a sort of birth of intellect.

This is one of the most amazing "Adventures among Books" ever placed on record. *A Tale of a Tub* in Richmond!—a blue smocked peasant boy, running away from home, with a few coppers in his pocket, stops to buy it, at the expense of his supper, sits down in a field in the Upper Corner of Kew Gardens to read it, and falls so in love with it, that for years he carried the copy about with him, and when it fell overboard in the Bay of Fundy and was drowned "the loss gave me greater pain than I have ever felt in losing thousands of pounds."!

Cobbett's "bookishness" is one of his most marked, though surprising, characteristics. He was evidently a born book-buyer—an eager reader. Yet *A Tale of a Tub*! It was hardly the book that could have been expected to sow the seeds of authorship in a small boy's breast, bred in the open air. Had it been *Gulliver* now! To find traces of *A Tale of a Tub* in the volumes bearing the name of Cobbett, would not be difficult—but inconclusive. We live in a whirl of circumstance that makes us what we are.

The sturdy little fellow in his smock frock and garters, grasping his book, seems at once to have won the heart of the inevitable "Scotch" gardener at Kew, who gave him victuals and lodgings, and set him to work sweeping the grass-plot round the pagodas, where he speedily attracted the attention of the Prince of Wales and two of the royal brothers. Thus was Royalty introduced to one born to give it a good deal of trouble.

Cobbett did not remain long at Kew, but came back to Farnham, a confirmed lover of gardens. Indeed, one of his reasons, soon to be developed, for hating the Americans as he did, was that they had no gardens; and his treatise entitled *The American Gardener* may be pronounced without extravagance to be one of the most amusing, as well as instructive treatises ever composed on the subject of how to grow vegetables and to construct hot-beds and green-houses.

But again we must leave Kew and Farnham and return to the foetid horrors of Drury Lane, where we left Place serving his apprenticeship to the breeches-maker. By the time he was eighteen he had worked out his indentures and had become an independent journeyman, earning some fourteen shillings a week in a then decaying industry. Straightway he married a girl of seventeen, and lived with her in one room in a court off the Strand on a joint income of seventeen shillings a week. Rent absorbed three shillings and sixpence, and, on an average, coals and candles, eighteen-pence a week, leaving a balance

of twelve shillings for food and clothing. For a while contentment was secured, and a child was born in the single room, but unemployment, following upon a strike, ensued, the child died of smallpox, and starvation and misery stared the couple in the face. Place, who held as itching a pen as Cobbett, has left behind him a realistic unromantic account of hunger, shame, bad temper and misery. This period of starvation lasted eight months, and, so Place writes :

At the end of our privation, notwithstanding we were only half-fed on bread and water, with an occasional red herring, we were six pounds in debt to our landlord.

It may be asked how could Place, thus fighting the battle of bare existence, equip himself to meet, as he was ere long able to do, in hard intellectual conflict, not only the ranks of sweaters of labour, but their political allies—such men as Peel and Huskisson and the wily and unscrupulous Attorney-General Copley, afterwards the long-lived Lyndhurst. This is how he did it.

I used to borrow books from a man who kept a small shop in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, leaving a small sum as a deposit and paying a trifle for reading, having only one at a time.

Mr. Wallas adds that during the first year of Place's married life he lodged with a "laundress" who "lent" him books "borrowed" from the rooms she "cleaned" in the Temple. After this clandestine fashion, Place read greedily Blackstone and Hale, Adam Smith, Locke and David Hume. Smollett and Fielding gave him occasional delight. Never before, or probably since, was the library of a Barrister in the Temple put to better use than in educating the man who, more than any one else, succeeded in repealing the Combination Laws in 1824, and in resisting the attempts to re-impose them.

In the Spring of 1795, Place, after fearful trials, became the Secretary of the Breeches-makers' Union, lately re-organised under the guise of a Tontine Sick Club, and on its dissolution, after a successful effort to obtain an advance in wages, he, in effect became the general adviser of Trade Clubs and Unions, and was thus fairly started on the career that secured for him—"tailor" though he was, and bred as he had been—a place of authority and power among the "best-educated" men of his time.

Here we must leave him, at the very outset of his career, feeling sure that if anyone who has not already read Mr. Wallas's biography is tempted to do so by this brief reference, he will be rewarded for his pains. Place has not the charm of Cobbett, either of character and least of all of style. He was a town-bred boy. His mind was logical, narrow and exacting. His studies, carried on as they were, though feeding his intellect did not enlarge his mind. He became as such men usually do, more positive than philosophical. Hume soon turned

the journeyman tailor into an agnostic, and "Parson Malthus", so abhorred by Cobbett, made a Malthusian of him in no time; but as Place married twice, and had a very large family—far larger than Cobbett—too much stress should not be laid on his anti-philoprogenitiveness.

As compared with—to use his own words—"the live lumber, Lord John Russell, and Lord Melbourne, Spring Rice, Hobhouse and Glenelg" Francis Place stands high, and the harder the comparison is pushed, the higher he will stand. Place once cut a coat for Lord Melbourne but the "snip" would have made a far better Prime Minister than would his customer a tailor.

Cobbett's education took longer than Place's. Being eight years Place's senior, Cobbett had the great advantage of hearing in boyhood the fiery disputes then taking place in England,—always, thank God! a land of free discussion,—about the American War. Cobbett's father, like Hazlitt's, was a furious partisan of the rebels, and as the young Cobbetts thought their father was the only wise man in the world, they felt no difficulty in agreeing with him. William Cobbett was thus early taught to drink to the health of General Washington. The heroes of one's boyhood seldom last a life-time, and at closer quarters Cobbett's ardour for the rebels cooled not a little.

These international excitements unfitted Cobbett for the life of the countryside; for much as he loved the soil, he loved excitement even more; and when he first saw the sea, in 1782, from Portsdown, and, still more exciting, saw the Grand Fleet anchored off Spithead, he fondly fancied that it was his destiny to rule the waves. A second time he took French leave of Farnham, and trudged to Portsmouth, got into a boat, and presented himself to the captain of the *Pegasus* war ship.

This was perhaps the most dangerous moment in Cobbett's life; for had he, in those savage days of naval discipline, become a sailor, his proud, independent spirit would probably have been broken under the lash. The Captain, to his honour be it remembered, refused to take him, and advised him to go home. This Cobbett did.

I returned once more to the plough, but I was spoiled for a farmer. The things in which I had taken the most delight were neglected, the singing of the birds grew insipid, and even the heart-cheering cry of the hounds, after which I formerly used to fly from my work, bound over the fields, and dash through the bracken and coppices, was heard with the most torpid indifference.

Cobbett's next escapade was to go to London, and become for a season an attorney's clerk in Gray's Inn. He did not like it.

When I think of the *said*s and *so forth*s and of those sheets of seventy-two words, and those lines two inches apart, my brain turns. Gracious Heavens! If I am doomed to be wretched, bury me beneath Iceland snows, and let me feed on blubber—stretch me under the

burning line and deny me the propitious dew. Nay, if it be thy will, suffocate me with the infected and pestilential air of a democratic club-house, but save me from the desk of an attorney.

The attorney's desk, however distasteful, was not wholly thrown away in Cobbett's education.

Cobbett's next adventure sealed his fate for seven years and made a Reformer of him. At the age of 21 he went down to Chatham and enlisted in a marching regiment. For a year he remained at Chatham at the regimental depôt, and then for six years he served abroad, for the most part in New Brunswick. He was promoted Corporal before leaving Chatham and within a year of his arrival in New Brunswick he became Sergeant-Major of his Regiment. In 1791, immediately after the regiment's return to England, he obtained his discharge and became the William Cobbett of English history.

I can follow him no further—nor is there any need to do so, for no one who has got thus far in Mr. Cole's biography is likely to lay it down until its hero—for there really is something heroic about Cobbett—is laid in his grave in Surrey soil, in the leafy month of June, 1835.

Cobbett, ever since his majority, was a man of strife and contention. He began in the army with his ignorant and corrupt officers, over whom he won a substantial victory, though, like a wise man, he ran away to France from a Court of Inquiry, set up to entrap him after he had obtained his discharge. He had found himself far better educated than his school-trained military superiors—and yet he had taught himself. Hence the beginnings of that egregious vanity that knew no bounds. There was nothing of the humble student about Cobbett; he had taught himself English and French and English grammar, arithmetic, and English history, he could preach sermons better than anybody, advise young men better than anybody, and knew more about cottage economy, farming and gardening than anyone before his time. So at least he thought.

When I am asked what books a young man or young woman ought to read, I always answer, Let him or her *read all the books I have written*. This does, it will doubtless be said, *smell of the shop*. No matter. It is what I recommend, and experience has taught me that it is my *duty* to give the recommendation!

And of his thirteen excellent sermons he says:

More of these Sermons have been *sold* than of the Sermons of all the Church-parsons put together since mine were published, there are some parsons who have had the good sense and the virtue to preach them from the pulpit.

Cobbett was obviously not a modest man; yet when we consider what in sober fact he accomplished with his pen alone, it is easy to forgive his vanity. Some of the books he wrote or helped to compile,

are amazing—even to think about. His *History of the Protestant Reformation* in two octavo volumes, is as remarkable a publication as Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution*. It is true that Cobbett and the late Lord Acton would never have agreed as to how history should be written : Acton laid down the law as follows : " The absence of a definite didactic purpose is the only security for the good faith of an historian." Cobbett would have scorned to write what he thought was history on those shabby terms. Froude and he would have got on much better together. They were both " propagandists," not truth lovers.

The demand for Cobbett's writings, voluminous though they are, still continues ; whilst his *Rural Rides* sits enthroned for ever.

Mr. Cole's job was a difficult one, for many reasons. *First*, the multifariousness of Cobbett's character ; *second*, the variety and startling inconsistencies of his opinions ; *third*, the intensity and frequent absurdity of his prejudices ; whilst at times his vanity becomes a little too oppressive ; and *finally*, the fact that Cobbett is his own best biographer, and has stuffed his books with such living pages of autobiography as to make the task of re-telling the same tale in a necessarily curter form, both difficult and repulsive. Hazlitt's biographers have been required to grapple with most of these difficulties and it may be said that Mr. Cole has triumphed over all of them.

There are no better political biographies to be had of the book-sellers than these two, of Cobbett and Place.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

TROELTSCH AND HIS ENGLISH INTERPRETERS.

WE owe much to those who have set themselves to the task of giving us a general report, in our own language, and within manageable compass, of the views of so powerful and influential a thinker as the late Ernest Troeltsch. If we must not call him—like Eucken—diffuse, yet he is excessively and lamentably copious. The *Collected Writings* in four large volumes, now completed, do not attempt to gather up the whole of his literary output. Contact with Troeltsch's own words is, however, highly desirable. Whether in the original German or in English translation, the *ipsissima verba* reveal a most fertile and original mind; the same impression is less perfectly conveyed at second hand. And yet there are moments when one grows weary; when doubt intrudes; when one asks dejectedly whether, in the end, Troeltsch accomplishes more than a large amount of interesting and capable talk round and round about this, that and the other topic, leaving us at last bewildered rather than enlightened. The deep incision made by his radicalism in the substance of old beliefs is plain enough. Positive and constructive suggestions are always alluringly at hand; but do they take solid shape?

Of the two leading English interpreters of Troeltsch, Dr. Bouquet in his book called *Is Christianity the Final Religion?* includes a summary report of Troeltsch's own book on *The Absolute Validity of Christianity*. Dr. Bouquet, however, does not seem to realise the keen sharpness of Troeltsch's critical knife. Speaking for himself, Dr. Bouquet seeks to reformulate a plea for the Messianic significance of Jesus our Lord. No hint is given the reader that Troeltsch is uninterested in such efforts, if not even hostile to them. Dr. Sleight is franker. *The Sufficiency of Christianity and Ernst Troeltsch* tells us that the transition from the Gospel preached by Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God to the Gospel preached by the Apostles concerning the Christ was—"illegitimate"; a criticism which cuts enormously deep. One admires the wealth of knowledge, especially of knowledge of German writers, with which Dr. Sleight is equipped for his task. Yet he might have been more mindful of the limitations of his readers. For too many of us the names in relation to which he defines Troeltsch's older or newer positions are often just mysterious sounds, whose enumeration helps us not at all in seeking to place the great man.

I

One may say something in regard to Troeltsch's philosophy of religion, making reference in passing to his general philosophical attitude. This is the line of approach which attracted my own mind.

I have always felt distrust of what may be considered the sceptical background to Ritschl. One who, having been helped by Ritschl, still desires to keep in touch with a more positive metaphysic and theory of knowledge, may well have a message for our age. Is Troeltsch such a man? Has he such a message?

Troeltsch stands for a "religious *a priori*." Any such contention involves a plea for the *a priori* element in knowledge *qua* knowledge. Troeltsch finds such a plea roughed out in the Leibnizian contrast of necessary truths of reason with contingent truths of fact,¹ while he holds it to have been put in shape with practically complete and definitive success by Kant. For Troeltsch, as for many theological Kantians, the sceptical elements which appear to infect Kant himself simply—one judges—do not exist. Kant has got the *a priori* and the *a posteriori* recognised in their interaction and mutual dependence. The existence of necessary truth is—even in this age² of relativity!—the primary and basal vindication of religion. And along with a *priori* knowledge, even in Kant himself, there is held to be vindicated not merely an *a priori* ethic but an *a priori* æsthetic and finally—it would seem—a religious *a priori*. These four are placed side by side by Troeltsch following Kant, or by Kant expounded through Troeltsch, in a way rather bewildering to the ordinary student of the Critical philosophy. At the same time, Troeltsch demands considerable revision of Kant's principles: *e.g.* (1) we must reconsider the alleged phenomenality of Time, and (2) we must have a frankly Libertarian Doctrine of the will. Welcome as the second requirement, at any rate, may be, the demand for such massive repairs of the Kantian structure sounds painfully like a scheme for rebuilding from the foundation.

What in the end the religious *a priori* means is rather obscure. Dr. Sleight seems to doubt whether Troeltsch had quite completed the task, perhaps of thinking out for himself, certainly of stating for others, the mutual relations of the four *a priori*'s. I doubt whether Troeltsch would quite accept Otto's formulation of the *a priority* of "the Holy"; yet there is much kinship between the two thinkers. In the end, Troeltsch seems to bid us trust the inevitable workings of religious instinct in the human mind. He sees clearly that religious psychology can offer no sufficient guarantees of objectivity; fancies, religious or other, may work themselves out psychologically very much as recognised facts do. But call the guarantee *Erkenntnisstheorie* and not *Psychologie*—all will be well! Any how, the religious *a priori* is to be the *final judge of religious truth*. Ritschl and Herrmann retrenched the claims of philosophy—wisely or unwisely—with a view, in part, to establishing the supremacy of the revelation of God in Christ. Where Herrmann

¹ In other respects also Leibnitz is held by Troeltsch to have made a significant stand for a spiritual philosophy.

² By all means! But the position needs safeguarding.

placed Christ, Troeltsch places the religious *a priori*. It constitutes God's final word to man. That there must be a response from within—notably a moral response from the conscience—we all, I think, feel. No revelation from without, even from the heights of heavenly glory, could overbear or could outweigh the lack of inner conviction. But is it really *a priori* unthinkable that the conscience of man should see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ? Is it morally illegitimate for our consciences to call Jesus Lord? The assertion of such impossibilities, the imposition of such vetoes, is, I fear, part of Troeltsch's *a priori* philosophy.

II

Over against his assertion of an *a priori* fountain of rational or necessary knowledge, supplying us with norms, we must place Troeltsch's not less emphatic appeal to history, with all of relativity that the historical outlook implies. While in theory of knowledge Troeltsch stands, obscurely yet resolutely, for *a priori* certainties, in metaphysic—as Dr. Sleight repeatedly points out—he is doggedly empiricist. His dogmatic theology too is historically determined; he is recognised in that department as the leading champion of the History of Religion School. At the same time, we do not find Troeltsch's Christianity mastered by the general history of religion, as we may perhaps think that it is mastered by philosophy when he places the (religious) *a priori* upon the judgment seat. Unlike those moderns who have begun to clamour for an alliance upon equal terms between all the great religions, Troeltsch holds that, for us Westerners of Christian descent, all hope depends upon the future possibilities of our Christian faith. We must not misunderstand him. There is no recognition of an exceptional or supernatural glory in our gospel, as contrasted with other faiths. He stands resolutely for the peculiarity of religion *qua* religion, in contrast with metaphysic or ethic or what ever other psychic forces there be; but, within the field of religion, all the historical forms of thought and life can boast the sanction of experience and ultimately therefore the authority of God. It is as a historian and not as a dogmatist—or as a dogmatist only upon historical grounds—that Troeltsch shuts up the Western world to Christianity and Christianity alone. History has made us what we are. We can never cause ourselves to be “made over again and made different.”

To this perhaps it is right to add that the posthumously published English lectures (at Oxford and London) on *Christian Thought; its History and Applications* reveal an inclination to tone down Troeltsch's earlier assertions of the essential supremacy of Christianity in virtue of its being in so high a degree a religion of personality. For us, indeed, moulded as we are by the Christian centuries, that superiority still holds; but, although Troeltsch does not stoop to the programme

of a future religious syncretism, he now hints that Christianity, Buddhism, and Brahmanism must recognise in each other elements of spiritual greatness—and leave it at that, with no crude endeavours to convert, or to preach a Son of Man who is Lord of all. So again he more than once tells us that we *have* to reason in a circle. History creates or develops certain standards of judgment. These standards in their *a posteriority* remain absolutely determinant for those who are moulded by them—for these, absolutely; but for no one else. The particularity of the historical particular forbids any vision of a spiritual oneness extending to all humanity. There has been no such oneness in the past; and apparently there never will be. The author of the book on *Christian Absoluteness* was coming more and more to insist upon historical relativity. In the very nature of things, Christ and Christianity can at the best be only—as Dr. Sleight rather quaintly expresses it—“relatively absolute.”

If Troeltsch may seem little influenced in practice, as a theologian or as a Christian, by the theoretic postulate of the qualitatively equal truth and sanctity of all religions, his insistence upon history *qua* history, and upon history in all its phases, is clear and startling. He is in deadly earnest with this. Probably it forms one reason why he writes upon so enormous a scale. Like industrious Chinese gold-seekers in New Zealand, who patiently washed over again the refuse left by earlier miners—with equal industry and patience Troeltsch will explore the most uninviting regions of the past. Who knows where the sparkle of gold may reward him? And God is immanent in the whole process—immanent alike everywhere. Thus we are bound, *e.g.*, to set aside miracle stories. Not that we do this, says Troeltsch, in obedience to philosophical presuppositions, but because as honest historical workers we discover no trace of anything like an exceptional type of causation at work anywhere in space or in time—not “down in Judee”; not in the long past and sacred-seeming ages when the prophets and Jesus were giving shape to our own treasured faith.

The historian's reverence for tradition seemed to Baron von Hügel to supply a platform upon which the Liberal Roman Catholic—if such a phrase carries any meaning—might erect the supernatural structure of a guaranteed infallible Church. The Baron laments, in his preface to the posthumous volume of Troeltsch's lectures, the change in his friend during the war years towards a growing development of religious individualism.

In another region of thought the historical point of view appears to involve strange results. Theological orthodoxy, moderate or extreme, appears to be viewed by Troeltsch as an essentially different thing from the primitive Christian message, if only because of what is often described as the “Stoic Platonic emphasis” discoverable in the great Christian systems. Well; according to Troeltsch *qua* philosopher, spiritual religion as such and Christianity as one particularly lofty type

of spiritual religion turn out upon full reflective analysis to imply a background of *a priori* philosophy. It was no part of the calling of our Lord, or even of that of St. Paul, His greatest interpreter, to formulate a philosophy of religion—whatever hints Paul may supply towards such a philosophy. How could the ancient world express its divination of the religious *a priori* otherwise than by appeals to the higher philosophies of Greece? Is it not a cruel perversity which treats such well-meant if stammering anticipations of the religious postulates of Troeltsch himself as an adulteration of genuine Christianity with foreign stuff? Was the Stoic turned Christian quite in error who dwelt upon the *Magnum testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ*?

And yet, in another way, the appeal to history joins hands with the appeal to a spiritual philosophy. Equally as philosopher and as historian, Troeltsch is the enemy of philosophical determinism, and of a slavishly mechanical theory of the Universe.

III

We turn next to consider the place given in the thought of Troeltsch to Jesus Christ. On this central issue we may describe his findings as amounting to a resolute and even vehement plea for theological radicalism, yet a radicalism carefully thought out and—so far as such a thing is possible—safeguarded. Few of Troeltsch's fellow radicals in theology and religion possess an equal apparatus of learning and of intellectual power.

Troeltsch conceives Jesus as a historical particular—a figure removed from us far in the distant past. The mysterious Stranger, as Schweitzer puts it, "will not cross the ford with us." Try as we may to insist that Jesus is "not of an age but for all time," He eludes our grasp and returns—almost, one would say, with obstinacy—to His own century. It is *a priori* inconceivable that He should be, what even Matthew Arnold called Him, "an Absolute." That which is absolute and that which is historical are incompatible magnitudes; the Word simply cannot be made flesh. With whatever glories this great Figure may visibly be endowed, there remains a technical incompleteness, a partial uncertainty, in our knowledge of one belonging to a remote age. You never can demonstrate the burning theses of religion if religion entangles itself in the events of a particular history. Troeltsch speaks—and Dr. Sleight follows him in speaking—of the conceivable recurrence of a glacial age which would kill off most of the human race and blot out civilisation. And they ask, where then would be the story of Bethlehem or of Calvary?

It remains that we are to define Jesus as the man, among all souls known to us or conjecturable by us, who has had the finest and deepest experience of God. That—no less than that, and no more—is His scientifically exact position. Schleiermacher taught similarly, and

yet with what a contrast ! For Schleiermacher, the God-consciousness in Jesus was absolute ; or, in other terms, Jesus might be defined as sinless. Often one has asked oneself whether Schleiermacher's underlying principles could carry the weight of such distinctively Christian beliefs—however unexpected the forms which Christian beliefs assume in this celebrated re-statement. And now we find Troeltsch engaged in remodelling Schleiermacher exactly as we had feared. Jesus cannot be absolute, and the moral miracle of sinlessness is as inconceivable as any other miracle. According to Schleiermacher, Jesus, the first and greatest of Christians, was therefore the Lord of Christians. Being the historical source of Christianity He must also be, throughout all time and to all eternity, the Saviour of mankind. According to Troeltsch Jesus is the first and greatest of Christians and therefore not strictly their Lord. At the best, as we are told by the Aberdeen Professor who introduces Dr. Sleigh—summarising Troeltsch, but summarising him with considerable sympathy—Christianity is “probably” definitive.

Two types there are of what may be called—in broad terms—Christian orthodoxy ; one which emphasises Incarnation more than Atonement ; one which reverses the comparative emphasis. For Troeltsch, and for those who hold with him, both modes of orthodoxy are obsolete. Future theology is to have no doctrine at all of incarnation, and no doctrine of salvation through the cross of Christ. The Christology even of Ritschl is condemned by Dr. Sleigh as too nearly “incarnational.” It follows, still further, that sacramental views of the Christian salvation are even more decisively excluded. This last decree may cause much less concern to Congregationalists than other radical changes do ; yet even Congregationalists might fitly recall Dr. Forsyth's warning that soteriology, though mixed with superstition, may well outrival an enlightened creed which includes no soteriology and therefore knows, in reality, no Saviour.

In addition to the general principle of the fundamental relativity of things historical, Troeltsch has a second ground for denying—or at least for very gravely qualifying—the Lordship of Jesus. As a result of his wide historical studies, he has learned that creative religious experiences belong to the *naïf* ages of human thought. From one point of view, this finding is a safeguard to faith in Christ. Where in the sophisticated modern world is sufficient *naïvety* left for starting a new religion ? Conceivably, in Persia ; yet even Bahaism may be suspected of inferiority when contrasted with the massive supernaturalism of primitive Christianity. It would seem therefore that Christians may take courage. Where is a rival faith to theirs possible ? Yet presently this partial safeguard reveals itself as a deadly weapon aimed at the Church's beliefs. Moderns cannot and must not be *naïf*. We are bound to be rational, philosophical, scientific. It follows that we must transform primitive Christianity if Christianity is to be

alive to-morrow and the next day. What is left of the old dependence upon a divine Lord and Saviour? Jesus, it appears, is a "socio-psychological" necessity. Religion cannot live without a common worship; nor, for us at least, can worship be detached from Him who inspires our faith. That remains true; that only.

The purpose of this paper is to state and not to criticize; but I cannot refrain from suggesting that, if Troeltsch thrusts certain facts upon our notice with disturbing power, he ignores many other facts. There is an anecdote which tells how Talleyrand, when consulted by a friend desirous of founding a new religion, advised him as his best policy to get himself crucified and to rise again on the third day. The gibe was not without suggestiveness. Is not the throne already occupied? Has not the great task been accomplished, once for all? Could any doctrine of God be better than that of His Fatherhood, or any ethic surpass the inculcation of love to God and man and enemies? Did not He who taught these truths embody them in His life, and even more in His death? If since then both death and life are known to be safe for us¹ it does not appear too bold a venture of faith to affirm that not even grave shifting of the earth's polar axis, however tremendous its physical consequences, could touch that life which is hid with Christ in God.

IV

In Troeltsch's doctrine of God we meet with a rather unexpected counterpoise—complete or partial—to the radical retrenchment of the doctrine of Christ. Religion is to be revered in all its distinctive glory. The religious experience must be trusted to the uttermost. If (as Dr. Sleight states the position) Christ is not our Redeemer, yet *God is*. Miraculous spiritual forces cannot indeed be verified anywhere in past history; but they are to be found, in all their purity and immediacy, within us—in the processes of the religious life. Even the Pauline categories are to be vindicated. The modern man, as Troeltsch conceives him, has not unlearned the necessity of "worrying" about his sins. If we will cut out from Paulinism its central assertion, that Christ crucified is the redeemer of sinners, then—with this strange omission!—Pauline Christianity may live on, as in the past so in the future, proving itself still a divine thing and a blessing to mankind. Accordingly, without intellectual demonstration of God or of immortality—in the strength simply of the religious experience, purest in Christianity but fundamentally the same everywhere—we are to fight our battle, "stimulated" or "pricked" into activity by the influence of Jesus; and, fighting, we may win the victory.

¹ Troeltsch's doubt as to the ultimate persistent immortality of finite spirits is one of the few points where Dr. Sleight finds himself compelled definitely to dissent from his master.

One may compare an eirenicon once put forward by Martineau—What orthodoxy affirms of Christ, free Christianity affirms of God ; there is unity beneath all the differences that divide them. Except that Unitarian thought may reveal less of the Pauline tinge, this is very nearly the same programme which Troeltsch announces for the reconciliation of Christianity with the modern mind.

V

It may be desirable to say one word on Christian Ethics. Here again, as we might well expect, Troeltsch discovers a broad and deep gulf between the thoughts of the historical Jesus and the perplexities of our own age of "capitalism." At the same time, Troeltsch is less hostile to Kantian rigorism—less one-sidedly identified with an ethic of historically shaped and moulded values—than a superficial reading of Dr. Sleight's book might suggest to us. The posthumous lectures show us that Troeltsch stands for *both* types of ethic in combination ; though he does all too plainly forbid us to discover any guiding clue of eternal moral principle through the welter of changing circumstance, and accordingly defines our task as one of endless "compromise"—between the high ideal and the intractable realities of every day. But why "compromise" ? Is not such a fashion of thought and speech disloyalty to the human soul, and almost a denial of God ? If the ideal veritably exists, it will not be lost in all the manifold forms of its application, nor will it be transformed into a pinchbeck thing like opportunism. We are indeed called to a wise reckoning with realities, and to a patient regard for what is practicable, rather than to a reckless hunger for martyrdom. The Christian is to be wise as a serpent if harmless as a dove ; but he is to do all things in the name of the Lord Jesus.

VI

As a whole, what are we to think of *Troeltschianismus* ? Two alternative verdicts may be suggested.

The present writer, in one of his early publications, employed a phrase which gave pleasure to some readers and great offence to others, when he described a certain group of theories as "half Christianities." One might be tempted to say that Troeltsch's positions are not so much Christian as half Christian. One might even be tempted to add that the fraction suggested in our phrase flatters so remorseless a radical. Does as much as the half survive in him ?

On the other hand, Dr. Sleight is probably right in telling us that Troeltsch's natural bias is to preserve rather than to overthrow. Comparatively little may have endured the ordeal over which he presides ; and yet Troeltsch "hath done what he could." We have

all probably had the disappointing yet salutary experience of receiving unwelcome expert advice. "I have done my best for you," we are told; and we are reminded that, if we miss our market as buyers, the price of Sibylline books is likely to rise. Troeltsch is no apologist for Christ, as we have conceived Him, or for Christianity as we have known it. Yet is he not an apologist for religion—for God—for the soul? If we despise this way of appealing to the thought and conscience of our generation, may we not go further and fare worse?

Not without grave hesitation can we reject the findings of a mind so able, so learned, so essentially pious as Ernest Troeltsch. Still less could one wish to hear of hurried or light-hearted acceptance of his tremendous and terrible revolution in the expression of the "thoughts of faith" as conceived by Christians.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

MISSIONARY FUNCTIONS, NEW AND OLD, IN SOUTH AFRICA.

It has been said that three great influences have been brought to bear upon the natives of South Africa during the past hundred years—missionaries, railways and Johannesburg. We may say that the first represents Christianity and the other two civilisation, and there is no doubt that the latter has been the preponderating influence, and increasingly so, by leaps and bounds.

I do not propose to deal with the influence of civilisation here in its immense educative scope but to confine myself to the vast difference of function that has necessarily to be assumed by the modern missionary as compared with the missionary of last century, in view of this impact of Western civilisation upon a primitive people.

When General Smuts delivered an address at the reception of the L.M.S. delegation to South Africa in January, 1924, he spoke of the pioneer work done by early missionaries. While deploring David Livingstone's "positive dislike to the Dutch" ("It is curious what failings great men have," he said), he nevertheless added "Livingstone became to the native mind a symbol of all that was most true, sincere and trustworthy in the white man"; and again, "For generations we, the white people on this continent, were looked upon as gods by the natives, and that was due very largely to the work of Dr. Livingstone and the men who followed him. . . . We are not looked on as gods any more. Perhaps it is better so." "The task of the old missionary was heavy and difficult," continued General Smuts, "but the task that faces the missionary of to-day is still more oppressive. Native psychology has changed, times have changed, and natives are no longer prepared to accept our word or gospel at its face value. They are looking below the surface of things and the work that is to be done in the future will have to be done much more thoroughly than it was in the past."

The missionary was in the early days the true *voortrekker*, the advance guard of civilisation. He opened the door to a host of modern influences; how evil some of those influences would prove to be he never knew. In a sense the modern missionary is a victim of those influences, because, however hard he may try to impress upon the natives with whom he deals the spiritual values of Christianity, he knows well enough they have seen with their eyes and heard with their ears much of modern civilisation which confuses all their thinking if it does not give the lie direct to what he tries to teach.

In the olden days the missionary was a kind of super-Chief. Likely enough his Bible was to his hearers the last word in witch-craft:

it was more powerful than all the hidden secrets of their medicine men. This, no doubt, was very bad for the missionary. As a sort of little god it was difficult for him to keep humble, to bear criticism, even to work with others. He wanted to stand alone and be the only adviser to the tribe. The idea of brotherhood, working alongside of the native Christians, was in many essential matters probably quite foreign to his thinking. The missionary function was largely that of a Dictator both in Church and State. He was there to rule. Such a view of the older type of missionary function is not given by way of adverse criticism: it was natural to the conditions of the time, and arose out of them. The missionary's position depended upon his ability to exercise control. He saw that certain things had to be done—or he and the people must part company. On one occasion, for instance, the whole Bakwena tribe, in what is now the Bechuanaland Protectorate, removed to another site, as their tribal centre, at the dictate of David Livingstone. Other instances might be given of the necessity for the missionary to exercise a control in tribal affairs which to-day is unknown.

Times have changed. To-day Government officials and traders far outnumber the missionaries. They live, often, where missionaries very rarely go; they endure conditions of life which the Missionary Society would not allow its agents to endure. They touch the natives at points almost inaccessible to the missionary. The educative force, for good or ill, of the village store and of the crowds that assemble within and without its doors; of the Magistrate's court and of the system of laws by which the tribe is ruled, is greater for mass education than the Church and the Mission School. The missionary himself, again, is one of a number of white men who touch the lives of the people at various points. Whereas of old he was the Government and the Church in one, he is now regarded as being "under the Government," and not a free agent in the carrying out of what many of his friends among the native people would like to see done for the betterment of their tribal life.

No doubt a curious impression still lingers with many missionary supporters in Britain that the missionary is *the* man in places writ large upon the map of Africa. But a missionary map is a most misleading guide! You see a Mission station marked as big as Johannesburg, and you look up the facts about it and find its church has so many adherents, so many schools, etc., and you picture the missionary as the life and centre of that place. It is far from true. The conductor on the train will tell you he knows of no such place—it is only some village, probably, off the line. And when you get there there are ten traders and three Government officials to one missionary. But the missionary knows. He realises how little weight he pulls. The old romance, the old power, the old status is gone. He knows he can never occupy the position held by his predecessors

of the last century. No doubt he realises, too, or he ought to do—that it is better so.

But what then is his work? What part does he play under the changed conditions? We sometimes say of one or other of our predecessors, "He was a *real* missionary." But was he? I mean, in any truer sense than a man may be a missionary to-day. Was his function as a State adviser, thrown in with his evangelistic work any more or any less missionary than the part a man has to play to-day in the inner councils of education or of Government policy regarding native rights? I want to make it clear that to-day the function our agents have to fulfil is every bit as missionary, though less romantic perhaps and less spectacular than it was in the old days.

First, take education. In the narrower sense of book and school education, the early missionaries were undoubtedly the pioneers. They wanted to teach people to read the Bible: it was part of their evangelistic work. Quite likely, too, if asked to define their aim they would have given the great and final answer, "the aim of our education is to form Christian character." But definitions of means and ends and problems and all the things about which we have to concern ourselves to-day did not occupy so large a place in missionary or any other thinking a few years ago. In a sense, then, book and school education drifted on without definition of scope and aim. Nor could one expect much else. Very rarely was the missionary a trained educationist. As long as he had his little schools, manned by zealous teacher-evangelists, he rested content. The result is that to-day two things are noticeable about Mission-School Education. One, that the early missionaries and their helpers did a great work in their day and generation—unscientific, inefficient according to modern standards, but it was a great achievement, and to-day at its best you see this result—the little herd-boy, with no school anywhere near his solitary cattle-post, takes with him his spelling-book, as essential a part of his equipment as his knobkerry or his dog, and before many years are past he can read his little stories, and the pages of his Bible and Hymnbook are no sealed book. I believe it could be proved that the degree of literacy in our native Churches is very high.

But the second noticeable feature is this—alongside of this go-as-you-please school education there has been going on a mass education at express speed. Wherever modern civilisation has rubbed shoulders with native life—wherever, for instance, railways, Johannesburg, gold, diamonds, traders, farmers, officials, have in one way and another made their presence felt—there mass education has been going on. It is all these that have released forces for good or ill; it is all these that have had and still have in increasing measure their educative effect. The native has, as it were, been tossed out of the slow-going ox-waggon and has been picked up and dashed along by the

motor-car, and he has lost his bearings, and his head is in a whirl. That is what I mean by mass education.

Think again, then, of the part played by the Mission School in relation to this more general and more dangerous type of influence. Two thoughts arise: First, that to blame the missionary for the presence of the "educated" native in the country is nonsense, if by "educated" is meant, as it often is, the more "knowing," more enlightened, less subservient, less docile, type of young man or woman that everywhere crowds the big cities. Second, it is clear that so long as the missionary retains the hold that he has to-day on school education he must improve his methods. If mass education is so rapid he cannot afford to be slow. The missionary must aim definitely at community service which will enable the educand to face the new and disturbing conditions of life with a sober and balanced mind. School education must be "adapted" to needs. It must be more scientific, more carefully thought out: the schools must have better teachers; the education given must be so good that the Government and people in general can feel that that limited sphere of education represented by the school is still safe in missionary hands: that school education, so far from "spoiling" the native, is the one thing needed to counteract the evil influences that throw him off his balance.

The trouble is that missionaries themselves are so often inefficient, so lacking in initiative, and that missionary bodies fail so lamentably to pull together, that the Government virtually says: "As soon as possible we will assume full control over the schools, and the missionaries can stick to their own particular jobs."

To my mind, this is not an issue which the missionary can regard with any complacency. I would rather see the missionary ranks so strengthened by trained and efficient men and a tradition so formed for the manning of schools by essentially missionary-minded teachers that school education, as the regulator and controller of mass education, should still be the common ground of action for Government and Missions. I think it is now clear that the missionary's function as educator is more vital and more comprehensive to-day than ever it was. Within his schools he has to aim at the formation of character and instruction in ideas of service which will enable young men and women to meet the new conditions with moral courage and discriminating insight. If the Mission School cannot do this I fear that no purely Government scheme of education can do it. As missionary superintendent of schools, as one who must watch modern tendencies and try to influence aright those who pass through his hands in school, the missionary in Africa has, I suggest, a function needing clearer thinking, more specialised training and more driving power than ever he had before.

Second, take native affairs, from the point of view of legislation and policy. In the old days the missionary was in the field before the European

Government. When native rights to ownership of land, or any other matters in which the natives came into conflict with the Europeans, were subjects of discussion, the missionary was there essentially as the protector of the natives. What sturdy battles have been fought are well-known to those who have studied the lives of Robert Moffat, Dr. Philip, Livingstone, J. S. Moffat and John Mackenzie. In some cases they saw fit to leave their specifically missionary work and to become Government officials. I am not sure that they were always happy that they had done so ; not, I would add, because they felt their missionary enthusiasm failing—that certainly was not the case—but because, as one wheel in the Government machine, they realised their limited and conditioned power of action. They could not do what they wanted. That happened at the time of transition, when the Government was occupying the country as the chief controller of native affairs. To-day the missionary is still there, but he often appears to be a very small factor in helping to guide and adjust matters. He does not loom large in the public eye. Imagine a Government official visiting Kuruman in the old days. Robert Moffat *was* Kuruman. He could speak with no uncertain voice. The missionary there, to-day, has had a less spectacular but more intricate and difficult work to do for he has had to defend native rights in the face of local European opposition, and has only been able to win for the natives their rights after careful analysis of Acts of Parliament and Proclamations and delicate correspondence with the Land and Irrigation Departments. His victory, however, is none the less real and vital to native interests. The modern missionary, then, is in duty bound to be a keen and conscientious student of native affairs and to be ready for action. He must not lag behind the growing company of well-disposed Europeans who are bending their energies to the task of seeing fair play for the natives. The formation of Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives (as in Johannesburg), of Native Welfare Societies, as well as other unorganised but definite efforts to tackle the black and white problem with justice and fair-mindedness—all these are indications of an awakening conscience. It will be a sad day for Missions if the native peoples ever have to say—and alas ! in places they are saying it already—that they can no longer look to missionaries to help them win their battles, but must turn to others who are outside the missionary profession.

Third, take the study of native affairs from the point of view of science, anthropology, and ethnology.

There is many an anthropologist to-day who would give his right hand for the opportunities of research which the older missionary had. Before the disintegrating and de-tribalising tendencies of modern civilisation set in he had a clear field for study and experiment. He met the native as a native, not as a native plus a veneer of civilisation. Unfortunately modern methods of research, indeed the modern studies

themselves, were almost unknown, and few had the eye for what to-day we seek in vain. Old customs, folk-lore, traditions of all kinds are fast disappearing. Scattered here and there in the writings of the earlier missionaries are statements of fact in which your trained man can see hidden much more than the plain facts indicate: he is bursting with eagerness to know more, and he can only guess where, faced to-day with similar instances, he might be able definitely to establish laws. The earlier missionary was something of a modern Herodotus—except perhaps in the case of Livingstone, who along definite lines was a trained and scientific observer. To-day it behoves the missionary to take every possible opportunity of acquainting himself with modern anthropological and linguistic methods in order to save for future generations what is being so rapidly lost in native lore and custom. His work must not be haphazard. This again means specialised, scientific study.

It seems to me that in every sphere of life the modern missionary has to go one better than the old if he is to succeed. There are many aids to this, of course. Means of transport are easier and quicker: there is much less waste of time: his house is better: very often the facilities for educating his children are at hand: he is nearer to medical service: his life is less lonely. But if old difficulties have disappeared—or almost disappeared—we have seen that new responsibilities are laid upon him, that under modern conditions he has to take a longer view and study problems more thoroughly; he has to learn more about co-operation and be less of a Dictator.

While all this is true, and while his function has so materially changed, there is the one great factor, of course, that must never change. The same constraining power of the love of God which drove dauntless men of old out to foreign lands to face unknown dangers must be the modern apostle's dynamic too. It is fatal to see things too materialistically. It is wrong to imagine that the whole of one's function is summed up in the proper direction of education, native affairs and anthropological study. Above and beyond all is the establishment of the Kingdom of God and where foundations were well and truly laid by those who went before us we have to go on building and never rest until the structure is complete. The inspiration of God's presence, of the power working through our poor human efforts—that must never be lost. The fundamental motive of Christian missions changes not, though means and methods and duties change from generation to generation.

A. J. HAILE.

HENRY ALLON AND HIS CORRESPONDENTS.*

It is to be feared that the younger generation of Congregationalists knows little about Congregational leaders to-day, and nothing at all about those of yesterday. To many readers of the *Congregational Quarterly* Henry Allon is probably but a name, while some will not so much as have heard that there was once a journal called *The British Quarterly Review*.

Henry Allon was a Yorkshireman, born near Hull in 1818. A Wesleyan in his early days, he became a Congregationalist by conviction, and after a year's mixed teaching and learning at Barnet in the school and academy of the Rev. Alexander Stewart¹ he went to Cheshunt College for further training. In January, 1844, he became co-pastor with the Rev. Thomas Lewis at Union Chapel, Islington, so-called because Episcopalians and Nonconformists united there in worship.²

Minister of Union Chapel Allon remained until his death in 1892; he had, as he was wont to say, "one wife, one home, one church." From that home and church Allon came to exercise great influence, not merely on the life of his denomination, but on the wider concerns of Church and State. To his old College, Cheshunt, he gave unstinted service, and he was twice, in 1864 and 1891, Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. To "The Worship of the Church"³ he made valuable contributions, editing (with H. J. Gauntlett) *The Congregational Psalmist* in 1858 (new editions 1868, 1875, and 1889), the subsequent *Chant Book* in 1860, *Anthems for Congregational Use* in 1872, and *Tunes for Children's Worship* in 1879. He was also editor of the *New Congregational Hymn-book*, and he published *Supplemental Hymns for Public Worship* (1868), *Hymns for Children's Worship* (1878), and the *Congregational Psalmist Hymnal* (1886). It is probably true to say that no one did more to raise the standard of worship in Nonconformist churches than did Henry Allon.

Preaching and pastoral work, denominational duties and a special interest in music, did not exhaust Allon's activities. Blessed with a splendid physique and a powerful brain, he was able to assume "labours abundant," and in 1866 he became, jointly with Henry Robert Reynolds (President of Cheshunt) Editor of the *British Quarterly*, being sole editor from 1877 to the discontinuation of the journal in 1886.

* The preface to *Letters to a Victorian Editor* will contain full acknowledgment of the kindness of writers of these letters, and of representatives of their families, in granting permission to use them. Meanwhile we have to thank the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, Viscount Gladstone, the Rev. Charles Spurgeon, Dr. Greville MacDonald, and others in regard to the letters now printed. In one or two cases it has not been possible to discover the representatives of the writers, and efforts are still being made.

¹ Father of Mr. Halley Stewart, to whose Trust reference was made in our last issue.

² See *Henry Allon, D.D.* By the Rev. W. Hardy Harwood (1894).

³ See his essay under this title in H. R. Reynolds's *Ecclesia*.

The *British Quarterly* had long been the representative organ of the Nonconformist Churches. Founded in 1845, and ably edited for twenty years by Dr. Robert Vaughan, it was widely recognised as setting forth the Nonconformist point of view. Its theology was conservative, but it was far from being a purely theological magazine. Literature and science were both adequately treated, and especially politics. Allon lived in the hey-day of "political Dissent," and it is to the journal he edited that we must turn if we want to know what the best minds of Nonconformity thought about the political controversies of their time. Allon himself did not contribute many of the longer articles, but the shorter articles and reviews were largely his work, and he had a way of getting outstanding men in all spheres of life to write for him.¹ To us the journal seems intolerably heavy and dull, the articles being altogether too long and too weighty for modern taste, but it did work of incalculable value in manifesting to the world Nonconformist opinion, and showing that the Dissenters were not the Philistines that Matthew Arnold and others too easily assumed them to be.

Allon's editorial work and his varied interests naturally brought him into touch with many of his most distinguished contemporaries, and this in days when Nonconformity counted for more in the political life of England than at any subsequent period. He was very friendly with Gladstone, who often took counsel with him and one or two others as to the Nonconformist attitude to various proposals.²

¹ It is a matter for regret that for a great many years the articles in the *British Quarterly* were unsigned.

² Compare the following passages in Morley's *Life of Gladstone* :

Under 1864.

It was about this time that Mr. Gladstone first found himself drawing to relations with the protestant dissenters, that were destined to grow closer as years went on. These relations had no small share in the extension of his public power; perhaps, too, no small share in the more abiding work upon the dissenters themselves, of enlarging what was narrow, softening what was hard and bitter, and promoting a healing union where the existence of a church establishment turned ecclesiastical differences into lines of social division. . . . Then in 1864 and on later occasions he met leading nonconformist clergy at the house of Mr. Newman Hall—such men as Allon, Binney, Edward White, Baldwin Brown, Henry Reynolds, and that most admirable friend, citizen, and man, R. W. Dale, so well known as Dale of Birmingham. . . .

. . . Always the devoted friend of Dr. Pusey and his school, he was gradually welcomed as ally and political leader by men like Dale and Allon, the independents, and Spurgeon, the baptist, on the broad ground that it was possible for all good men to hold, amid their differences about church government, the more vital sympathies and charities of their common profession. They even sounded him on one occasion about laying the foundation stone of one of their chapels. The ultimate result of such intercourse of the nonconformist leaders with this powerful and generous mind, enriched by historic knowledge and tradition, strengthened by high political responsibility, deepened by meditations long, strenuous, and systematic, was indeed remarkable. Dr. Allon expressed it, with admirable point, in a letter to Gladstone some fourteen years after our present date (April 15th, 1878) :

The kind of intercourse that you have kindly permitted with nonconformists, has helped more consciously to identify them with movements of national life, and to diminish the stern feeling of almost defiant witness-bearing that was strong a generation or two ago. It is something gained if ecclesiastical and political differences can be debated within a common circle of social confidence . . . Their confidence in you has made them amenable to your

And while Allon touched Gladstone on the one side, he was linked with Downing Street of the present generation on the other by his connexion with the ex-Prime Minister whom we are learning with difficulty to call the Earl of Oxford. Mr. Asquith attended Union Chapel in his youth and still confesses his debt to Dr. Allon. He also wrote for him in the *British Quarterly*.

With all the leaders of Nonconformity Allon was, of course, intimate, while he was also very friendly with Deans Alford, Liddon and Stanley, and did not a little to prepare the way for a better understanding between Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians. His house at Canonbury was a meeting place for men of all classes and creeds, and a Congregationalist Manse can rarely have offered hospitality to such a number of distinguished men in every walk of life as did Allon's. Such gatherings as those described by R. W. Dale,¹ in speaking of the Life of Dean Stanley, were frequent. He says :

"It is very interesting, and I hope to feel the charm of Stanley as I have not felt it before. I met him at dinner at Dr. Allon's some time ago, with Mr. Binney, Dean Alford, Dr. Reynolds, Hutton of *The Spectator*, Matthew Arnold, and some other interesting men, and though he talked pleasantly, there was for me no spell in it."

It is a matter for thankfulness that a collection of letters, most of them unpublished, sent to Dr. Allon at the time of his greatest activity has been preserved. By the courtesy of the representatives of Dr. Allon's family it has been placed in the hands of the present writer, and a volume, *Letters to a Victorian Editor*, will soon be ready for the press. The writers reflect the variety of Allon's interests and the width of his friendships. Statesmen like Gladstone, Bright, Bryce and Asquith ; keen Nonconformists like Binney, Baldwin Brown and Edward Miall ; historians like Freeman ; missionaries like Livingstone ; preachers like Newman and Beecher, all are represented, while there are letters from all those mentioned in Dale's letter quoted above.

Readers of the *Congregational Quarterly*, which, in some measure, may be entitled to claim descent from the *British Quarterly*, have perhaps a right to a first glimpse at some of these letters, and a small selection has therefore been made.

* * *

lead in respect of methods and movements needing the guidance of political insight and experience.

Under 1868.

At an earlier stage sympathetic resolutions had been sent to him from nonconformist denominations, and in writing to Dr. Allon who forwarded them, Mr. Gladstone said :—"I thank you for all the kind words contained in your letter, but most of all for the assurance, not the first I am happy to say which has reached me, that many prayers are offered on my behalf. I feel myself by the side of this arduous undertaking a small creature ; but where the Almighty sends us duties, He also sends the strength needful to perform them."

¹ A. W. W. Dale. *Life of R. W. Dale*, p. 665.

Here is the first letter from Mr. Gladstone in the collection :

Hawarden, Chester.

Ap. 23, 67.

My dear Sir,

I shall examine with much interest the Number you have been so good as to send me.

Personally I have no complaint to make of recent occurrences in Parliament, but the exhibition given of the interior of the Liberal party is certainly a sorry one. Had the *Radicals* caused the defeat there would have been nothing to say : but the sense of the vote was certainly restrictive, and it has been most ably stated in an Article of Saturday's *Spectator*.

But I am most thankful to you for your kind expressions.

If you will kindly remember my breakfast table on Thursdays at 10 from May 9 onwards, I shall be very happy to speak to you on the subject of your enquiry. Two matters not directly political which seem to me particularly to deserve attention at this time are American finance and French agriculture. I learned [?] in Paris that the nett agricultural value of France has risen in a time I think less than fifty years from fifty-two to one hundred and forty millions sterling !

I remain, my dear sir,

Faithfully yours,

Rev. H. Allon.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

Among other communications is one of the post-cards characteristic of Mr. Gladstone, written and addressed in his own hand :

May Mr. Gladstone hope for the pleasure of Dr. Allon's company to breakfast on Thursday the 19th at ten ?

73, Harley St., Ap. 17, 77.

W.E.G.

The first letter from John Bright is interesting, but not so important as another one we select, which deals with the state of the Liberal Party in 1874.

Rochdale,

July 30, 68.

Dear Mr. Allon,

I have only this morning received your kind note, and the Review has not yet come down from London. I got a copy however yesterday from a friend of mine in Manchester.

From the portion of the article I have read, I feel I am indebted to you for a very friendly notice of my political career, and of my speeches. I thank you heartily for this, for I value your good opinion very highly.

I have endeavoured to think and to speak honestly on all public questions, and in revising about 50 speeches for the volume now about to be published, I do not find in them anything which I have to regret. I wish only they had been more worthy of the great questions on which they treat.

With many thanks for your good opinion of me,

I am, Sincerely yours,

Revd. Henry Allon.

JOHN BRIGHT.

Rochdale,

June 21, 74.

My dear Mr. Allon,

I returned from London two days ago, and have found your letter dated the 6th of May, which has been by accident omitted to be forwarded to me. I am annoyed at this accident because it may [have] been the cause of some trouble to you ; and it may have made you suppose I was careless about your letter.

I cannot send you a favourable answer to the two propositions you make to me. I shun all public meetings and occasions of ceremony, for I find myself as yet unable to return to my former habits and labors. Just now, I have left London where I find the perpetual bustle disturbs me, in order to seek the quiet which is needful to me. I cannot therefore come to your interesting meeting at Cheshunt College. I fear I have almost, if not quite, finished occasions of service such as that to which you invite me.

As to writing in answer to the *Edinburgh Review*, I must confess that I have not read its article, and I can hardly suppose that any one believes it an authority on matters connected with the Liberal Party of our day. I am not qualified to write. I can speak but not write. I do not know how or why it is, but writing has never been easy or pleasant to me, and now I seem less disposed to write than before. As to a manifesto of the Liberal Party, I know no one who is capable of writing it. The Party is in confusion, and is likely to remain so. It is a Party with great differences and no cohesion. We have the section which stands by the Church, and the section which is hostile to it, and the Irish section is, for the time, gone over to Home Rule, to which the other two sections are entirely opposed. I see no way out of present difficulties, and I am not strong enough to take the position of pilot even if I knew the soundings. Mr. Gladstone does not teach from an outside platform—he acts when the teaching has created a school which gives the power to act. Mr. Cobden and I taught for many years—my friend is gone, and my strength is gone, and may not return—so other teachers are wanted, but hitherto they have not yet appeared. When the time is right for them, they may come.

I am sorry to send you this discouraging reply—but I dare not undertake either of the services to which you invite me.

Believe me always

Sincerely yours,

Revd. Henry Allon.

JOHN BRIGHT.

The first and last of Mr. Asquith's are chosen, because they show his relationship with Dr. Allon. Intervening letters deal with work done for the *British Quarterly* and personal matters.

* * *

Balliol,

My dear Dr. Allon,

June 19, 1874.

Many thanks for your kind letter of congratulation, which I was much gratified to receive yesterday. There are two Craven Scholarships—so that I lost nothing by being bracketed with Broadbent while the position was in other respects satisfactory to me, as he beat me very decisively about fifteen months ago in the 'Ireland.'

I am sorry that you were not able to fulfil your intention of coming here for Commemoration. We should have been delighted to do all in our power to familiarise you with the place.

We are leaving to-day for London, and shall spend a few days at Highbury. I hope that we shall find you at home.

With kind regards to Mrs. Allon and your family in which my brother unites, believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

H. H. ASQUITH.

Barmouth,

My dear Dr. Allon,

6 Sept., 1889.

Absence from home delayed my receipt of your letter of the 20th Aug., and must be my excuse for not sending you an earlier reply.

I am much obliged by your kind invitation to attend the meeting on Oct. 21st, and I regret that I have to be out of town fulfilling a public engagement elsewhere on that date.

Had I been able to be present, I should have been glad of the opportunity of bearing testimony to the great work which has been done, under your ministry, by Union Chapel as an instrument of civilization and of moral improvement in the North of London ; and of expressing my own grateful sense of personal obligation to yourself, and to the institutions of your Church, for stimulus and help in my earlier days.

I congratulate you most heartily on the completion of your building and the extinction of your debt, and I earnestly trust that the new chapter in the history of your Church and ministry, which you will now begin, may be as bright in promise, and as rich in fulfilment, as that which you have brought to such a worthy close.

Believe me, dear Dr. Allon,

Yours very sincerely,

H. H. ASQUITH.

Turning from statesmen to divines, from a pile of letters from Dr.

Dale three are taken :

12, Calthorpe St., Edgbaston,

Ap. 4, 61.

My dear Allon,

Can you come to our College Anniversary on the last Tuesday in June ? Your Cheshunt day—I think—is on the Thursday, so that the two engagements would not interfere. We shall have an evening service—most likely in Ebenezer Chapel, at which an *Address* is to be given to the students, four of whom are leaving us at Midsummer.

This Address I should be very glad if you would be kind enough to deliver. It is really a good opportunity for saying many things that one's heart often burns to say to those who are just starting on their ministerial life or struggling through the follies, mistakes and failures by which College life is too often marked. Come and give the men one of your vigorous resolute creations that shall elevate their aims and give impulse and power to their endeavour after excellence.

My very kind regards to Mrs. Allon,

I am, Faithfully yrs.,

Rev. H. Allon.

R. W. DALE.

55, Bristol Rd., Birmingham,

My dear Allon,

March 4, 78.

Morning in May.

Will you let me come to you in the middle of the week if Rogers is expecting me, as I think he is. At Clapham I shall be near to Westminster, where I preach on Wednesday evening. I might come to you on Thursday.

Your criticism of my XIXth Cent. article is an enigma. I don't know what you mean by 'not so Patriotic as Politic'—I dare say the meaning is excellent, but it is like the minor prophets—obscure.

Kindest regards to Mrs. Allon.

I was delighted to hear that the new Church is filling so well. If you are going to enlarge and want me to preach at the re-opening, let me know in time.

Faithfully Yrs.,

R. W. DALE.

Same address,

Jan. 14, 79.

My dear Allon,

Hearty thanks for your note. I am not sure as yet when I can come up!—if the chariot wheels run easily to-day and to-morrow morning I shall get away after the School Board meeting on Thursday afternoon and then I shall look in upon you on Friday morning. I want to go into the Strand to pick up some books. If I don't get on with my work satisfactorily I cannot come up until Thursday (*sic*) morning.

A Happy New Year to you! What a delight it is to one when one's friends are strong and prosperous. I sometimes try to imagine what it wd. be if one and another of those I love fell into shameful sin or suffered great misfortune. One's own life is a very small and insignificant fraction of one's real and full life. I never hear of your vigour and success without feeling my heart lighten. God keep you strong and happy all through this year.

Kindest regards to Mrs. Allon and the girls.

Affectionately Yrs.,

Rev. Dr. Henry Allon.

R. W. DALE.

Here are two characteristic epistles from Spurgeon ;

Nightingale Lane, Clapham.

Jan. 19. []

You are most kind, and I thank you very much for the letter of Dean Stanley. Not that I can read it, but that is no matter, it is the good man's hand I want, and what a fist it is.¹

You did not sign your own name, wh. was equally what I wanted.

I had four days in bed out of 7 when I returned, but the fog departed and so did my rheumatism and I am fairly well. How do you get on in yr. houseless condition? Are you to have a cathedral? You have the build of a bishop and the building will be appropriate.

I put my autographs in the men's books, and I like my library all the better when I see the men's portraits and a bit from their own pens. So you can do me a favour this way and I enclose some envelopes to jog your memory, though if it costs you any trouble do not take the least notice of my unwarranted liberty.

Every blessing be with you.

Yours heartily,

C. H. SPURGEON.

Nightingale Lane, Clapham.

Dear Friend,

Mar. 29. []

Thanks for the brotherly offer. I send enclosed to let you see where I am. Worried humanly, divinely comforted. Have worked up a machine wh. will grind me to powder if I don't keep at home for awhile.

Pray excuse me. I shall soon be down again unless I have more help, which also is coming, so again *Laus Deo*.

Yours very heartily,

C. H. S.

Henry Ward Beecher was a constant correspondent of Allon's, and these two brief letters show both Beecher's breezy manner and also the intimate relationship between Allon and Gladstone.

Brooklyn, N.Y.

April 13, 1871.

Rev. Henry Allon,

Dear Sir,

This will come to you by the hands of my brother, the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, as clever a fellow (American clever, not English, is meant) as ever told a good story or preached a good sermon.

Take him. Love him. Enjoy him. Return him to me as good as you found him,

And oblige,

Yours very truly,

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Rev. Henry Allon,

London, England.

¹ All the people who have tried to read Dean Stanley's writing will say a fervent "Amen."

21, Daleham Gardens,
Hampstead, N.W. [n.d.]

Dear Dr. Allon,

Mr. Gill wants very much to interview Mr. Gladstone. If anybody can get him this privilege *you* can. I do not know as to the propriety of the matter.

He will, if Mr. Gladstone will give him his view of the present aspect of things, write out, and present to him, whatever he takes down, so that there shall be no imperfections.

Nothing could be of more profound interest in America at present, than a word from Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gill is an honest man, a skillful [*sic*] reporter, and will maintain every propriety. He has been sent here by a Syndecate [*sic*] of American Newspapers.

Cordially Yours,
HENRY WARD BEECHER.

The recent centenary of the birth of George MacDonald leads us to include two of his letters :

12, Earles Terrace, Kensington, W.
[n.d.]

My dear Sir,

I never lectured upon Dante, for the best and the worst of reasons—that I am incapable of doing so. I have by me one of the best things, I think, that I have ever done, on the Imagination. It might be headed with Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning and James McLevy the Detective's Reminiscences. But you shall read the paper and judge for yourself. I have still a few touches to put to it, but hope to bring it with me on this day week, for which I gladly accept your kind invitation.

Yours very truly,
The Rev. H. Allon. GEORGE MACDONALD.

39, Longridge Road, Kensington,
June 11 [? 1878].

Dear Mr. Allon,

I thank you for your kind letter. "Christ is risen" is my refuge in all that kind of trouble, of which, for the first time in our family, we had so much within one year.

I will gladly preach for you. But there is no 16th of July, a Sunday, and on the 13th I am going to preach for Mr. Tipple. The following Sunday I could give you morning or evening. But I stick to my resolve unalterable, until I am forced plainly to break it. I claim it as my reward for doing it willingly! I fear I am irreverent in alluding in this way to the similar feeling in St. Paul. The fact is, I preach only as a layman—I do it for the love of it only, and not to add to my income.¹ If you want to help me, have the pilgrims.² If you insist on my having money, I will preach somewhere else.

My wife and I mean to try to call on you next Saturday, on our way home from Woodford—*on the chance of seeing you*, for we cannot even say at what hour we shall be able to do so. She alone can settle with you about the proposed performance, as they give me none of the trouble. It is all her affair, and that of the children, although I take the part of Greatheart.

Forgive haste,
Yours most truly,
GEORGE MACDONALD.

¹ For this refusal to accept a fee for preaching cf. Dr. Greville MacDonald's *Life of his father*, p. 367, where reference is also made to the family's dramatic performances.

² The Jubilee Singers from the United States.

Finally we give two of the first letters from E. A. Freeman, who was, from 1870, a constant contributor to the *British Quarterly*, and a regular correspondent of its editor.

Somerleaze, Wells, Somerset.

December 23rd, 1870.

My dear Sir,

Here is the most frightful day's work I ever did. The proof came only yesterday evening, a few hours before I came myself, which shows that—as printers always do—it was posted too late. Nothing could be done till to-day. And a proof such as I never saw. I really thought that in every printing office there was someone with scholarship enough to keep Latin from being throughout translated into unintelligible gibberish. Then I have of course had the usual battle to get the proof back to the state of the MS. by getting rid of the printer's follies in the way of punctuation and such matters. To add to all this, they never sent back the MS. and sent the proof on such wretched slips of paper, as to give no proper room for corrections. Pray let me have a revise in pages as soon as maybe; I shall then be able to judge of the article itself, and to make any improvements which suggest themselves. Thus far I have been fighting with the mechanical difficulties of the printer's vagaries.

The delay is no fault of mine, as I sent the MS. to Mr. Reynolds several days before the time when he asked for it.

Believe me yours faithfully,

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

Let the proof come back with the revise.

No duplicate was sent.

Somerleaze, Wells, Somerset.

December 26th, 1870.

My dear Sir,

Here is the revise, after another hard morning's work. I fear it is too late, or I should greatly like another. The press is still in a fearful state. I cannot at all admit the printer's excuse. I know that one of my sons, who copied some—not all—of the notes, does not write at all a good hand, but this does not justify the printer in printing mere gibberish. I believe that all could have been made out by any one who understood the language; and, if any word really could not be read, it is always better to leave a blank, which gives much less trouble to fill up, than to print the horrible stuff which appears even now in several places of the revise. Take for instance near the beginning ἐς τὰν πόλιν in my own writing, has come back in two successive forms of gibberish. And why have they such a rooted dislike to giving the river Seine a big S?

Pray kick them well—they are an evil generation, all of them.

Believe me yours truly,

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

EDITOR.

DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS.

This Section in our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organisation, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.

Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in one part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust that these pages will not only serve as a clearing house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in Church and denominational life.

Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.

THE PREACHER AND TO-DAY.

MANKIND always lives in "an age of transition." And we in our day certainly do. A new age is being born; familiar things are passing, or have passed away before our eyes, and not a few institutions that promise to survive are being affected in character and function. Is not preaching among these? By no means is its work accomplished yet; but its methods, and even the message that is to be effective, may require readjustment.

The chief function, the real vocation, of the ordinary Congregational minister is *pastoral preaching*. With a limited congregation the man in the provincial church is acquainted, and often far more than just that, with all his people. Thus Sunday by Sunday he is leading his friends, young and old, rich and poor, into Divine fellowship. He tries his scrupulous best to give to them his mind and his heart about the things of God and the soul. He applies himself specifically to their case. He unfolds his own knowledge and faith according to their understanding—as he, on good grounds, estimates it. No one, except perhaps a country doctor, can quite appreciate the relations between a country or small town minister and his flock. It is necessarily so intimate, so immediate, with all that it involves of joy and suffering, of much that daily encourages or disheartens.

Probably there is little or no exaggeration in the statement that this vocation of pastoral preaching was never more difficult than it is to-day. Envidable in certain respects the lot of such a man a few generations ago: an appreciable congregation of regular hearers (the majority present morning and evening); a recognised system of doctrine; Scriptures of unimpaired authority, virtually if not verbally inspired from *Genesis* to *Revelation*. The exceptional man had merely to exhibit originality in methods of exposition, in rhetorical expression, or in the logical presentation of his dogmatic brief. It seems to us to-day

to have been an easy business, attended often with a good deal of pious female pampering—though even then, and with increasing frequency, appeared “the dangerous thinkers,” the mind tintured with scepticism, and the proclaimed heretic. Yet, all along the line, heresy, so-called, has caught attention, generally relieved far more than created doubt, has won regard and a considerable adherence; and now a time has come when a great Evangelical theologian—perhaps the most notable of our day, at any rate in our own denomination—can declare that the terms orthodoxy and heterodoxy have now lost their significance. The fact is that to-day in our churches we might confess that we are all heretics. Indeed, we have reached a state of liberty in which each man may at last call even his soul his own; when no honest man is despised on account of his religious opinions; when we may frankly state our faith, and run no risk of forfeiting the respect and confidence of any good man.

I know nothing more heroic in the life of to-day than the cheerfulness and patience and hope with which the great majority of ministers are contending with depressing conditions (not financial) and profound perplexities. For, notwithstanding the occasional bold shouts that the tide is turning, our experience is that things—as viewed from the standpoint of church attendance—are going from bad to worse. It is not the famous preachers, by whom and for whom a crowd is always gathered both at home and abroad, who can possibly gauge the prevailing experience of his relatively obscure brethren, be he ever so brotherly. Only the man on the spot, keen and sensitive about every individual sign, knows the Sunday-by-Sunday anxiety, disappointment and heart-ache of these times of spiritual laxity. One simply cannot “compel them to come in”; you offend rather than incite by urging a more regular attendance or insisting that Church-membership involves certain loyalties. Dr. Robertson Nicoll long ago deplored the loss of the sense of sin; while Dr. Jowett used to speak about the lost art of prayer. To-day—a natural consequence, surely—we begin to perceive that there are signs, even in our congregations, of a lost sense of God.

But, say some, there was never more religion in evidence. Religion survives, and must survive, all changes. Man is essentially religious, and so on. For and against all which much is to be said. Two things, however, can hardly be disputed: (1) that, outside the ministry, there is to-day hardly the slightest interest in theology; (2) while, on the other hand, if religion find intellectual expression a theology inevitably emerges—that expression is theology. Every religious “ism” has in due time its theology (does not that generally decide its fate?). Every “free-lance,” charging against this or the other or all dogma, is armed with his own chosen theology—or is simply running amuck. And every preacher is, consciously or unconsciously, expounding and enforcing his theology. Christian preaching is, in the very nature of things,

theological. All this apart from the question of a sound theological equipment—as regards judgment and breadth of mind, as well as education.

We come then to the issue that, inside as well as outside the churches, there is to-day no felt interest in theology ; while, on the other hand, preaching is theological—whatever else it be, and whatever the character and quality of its theology.

A brilliant ex-officer, whose five years of budding youth were swallowed up in the War, has at length found occupation "on the road." He "travels" all over the country for a big London house, and mingles with all sorts of men likewise "travelling." He tells me that all questions of present interest come up for discussion, and among them religion. Two things have greatly impressed him—how rarely one meets a man connected with the churches ; and how interested in religion—he puts it "how religious"—almost every man is. He says : "They believe in God, and, if not every day, they pray. He adds : "Most of them confess that now and again they enter a church, but that the sermon does not grip, does not help them." For most of us this is indeed a hard saying : it smites us on the cheek. As usual, with our habit of speech, we could say much. But this we could not say—"the reproaches of them that reproach Thee are fallen upon me." Mark, it was not a casual thing this entering of the sanctuary on their part : it was as when a ship puts into port for water, or to ride in safety for a few hours—where no water is, or the harbour's bar seems broken. For it is stress of soul these laymen are pathetically revealing to brother-men in like state. Such was my friend's frank and voluntary revelation over a pipe. Now all this did not in my own mind amount to an actual condemnation of the man in the pulpit : there was no suggestion that he was wanting in honesty or earnestness. He was simply missing his mark, at least one mark—which seemed to me much like the bull's eye. With a prepared mind, and perhaps it should be added, with a prepared spirit, most of us are comforted and inspired by the refreshing ministries we come across often in the most obscure corners, during our vacation Sundays. Preaching was probably never better in this Christian land than now. Nevertheless the foregoing does raise momentous questions. It illustrates a grey conjecture our personal bosoms hide—cherish, against all inclination, because they cannot drive it away. It may be that here is involved the whole matter of that listlessness and indifference and casualness that are encroaching upon our congregations and that so distress us.

"Wanting is what ?" asked Browning, and years ago now Morlais Jones from the Chair of our Union. Is it not the question urgent for us preachers of to-day ? If a theology be fundamental, and the public attitude be distinctly unsympathetic, our answer is plain. That so long-talked-of re-statement of theology, re-adjustment of doctrine, must be faced and brought about. We *must* set our house in order

Of course theology has always been "being re-stated." The expression of living Truth must be fresh and animated, not stale and stagnant. But where and how to begin if there is to be a radical change? That is a problem. Christian theology is bound to begin with Christ. He is the Church's one Foundation. Exactly; and as we ponder that so familiar point, may we not strike right across the real, true answer and solution? I venture to suggest that it would be truer to say that most, at least a great number of us, have been preaching Paul's Christ rather than the Christ of the Gospels. I venture further, and add that these two are not quite exactly the same. The difference, it may be argued, is not significant. But all difference is significant. And the slightest difference counts in the human appeal, may indeed be not only critical but decisive. Apart from prejudice all would acknowledge the Apostle to be the first and greatest of theologians—Augustine, Aquinas, Calvin, follow; they do not walk abreast of him. But was he more than a theologian, an expositor, an apologist? What and how much more? Genius? undoubtedly. Inspired? granted; but in what way, to what extent, and of what quality was it?

I do not know quite how men are prepared to-day for this essential work of pastoral preaching. In my college days (forty years ago) we were simply steeped in Pauline Christology—first of all being immersed in Paul himself. Our Greek Testament class was devoted solely to his great epistles (and *Hebrews*—to be perfectly exact); our dogmatics were based on and clinched by Paul; our Church History began with his missionary enterprise. We learned to know his journeys like the alphabet: through Conybeare and Howson we grew perfectly familiar with the cities he knew, the lands he traversed, the classes and the customs with which he came in contact. All this was to the good—if it had been supplementary. Another life, other New Testament writings, even of greater worth, were neglected. We entered at last upon our work ripe to preach Paul's Christ: but not steeped in the Gospels—not as familiar with the life and surroundings of Jesus.

Dr. Lloyd Morgan, in his *Emergent Evolution*, tells how a friend of his, a great historian, declared that he must "live in" an age before he could write about it. And he also says how an eminent scientist advised him to "get inside" a crystal if he would see and understand. Is it not essential that we who preach should have learned to visualise the life of the Master? Is it possible—on whatever intellectual and spiritual terms—for us to get inside the life and the mind of the historic Jesus? Splendid and unspeakably precious supplements are the Fourth Gospel and the Pauline Epistles: but surely within the Synoptic Gospels are the data, the sufficient data, for the *foundations* of a re-statement of truly Christian theology. For, when all is said, Christianity is Christ's own religion—His faith, His spirit, His teaching. And within those first three Gospels we have all we possess, or almost all, of the first and authentic tradition and portraiture of Him Who is our

Lord and our God—God manifest in the flesh. Paul had in fact no more than we have. Through his own eyes and mind and soul he saw—a man of his race, and of his age ; *and* a genius. It is through our own eyes and mind and soul—perchance without the genius—that we shall see all that *we* can see. Why virtually restrict ourselves to the lens of Paul ? Besides, it does not just now attract. And yet men are saying to-day, “Sirs, we would see Jesus.” It is not our revered Paul’s Christ, but it *is* God’s Christ they seek—with dumb, blind arms outstretched.

To win such a knowledge of Him, as He lived and taught and died, as we have of Paul, may, for us preaching men, be no easy task. But the reward is sure. Our own faith and devotion will grow immensely under the discipline. And in time, if not as quickly as we wanted—in time Christ’s own theology would draw within the fold, and satisfy all the sheep of His flock.

EDWIN TONGUE.

A BAZAAR INNOVATION.

BAZAARS are a nuisance or a pleasure, and, under either flag, a great army could be assembled. They are, also, a prolific source of income. Results are often amazing. Thirty years ago a comparatively strong Church would consider £500 “a great effort.” To-day, £1,000 is an every week affair in some parts of the country, whilst £2,000 and even £3,000 is attempted with smiling confidence.

The object of this note is not to praise or blame the bazaar method, but to commend a most attractive and lucrative innovation. If we must have bazaars, why keep them almost exclusively as women’s affairs ? Why not allow men to organise along the line of their own genius ? Why circumscribe the interest and limit the number of supporters, when a whole district, or town, can be brought to our assistance ?

There is nothing exciting about the statement that at a recent bazaar we had a local Tradesmen’s Exhibition, but the results were exciting to our large body of men workers, and to our bazaar treasurer, as well as to tradesmen and to continuous throngs of interested people.

A large room was set apart for exhibits by local tradesmen. We had two classes of exhibits, those for sale towards the bazaar funds, and others, for which the exhibitor paid according to the space occupied. At first the idea did not “catch on” ; it was new, and tradespeople were very careful, but before the opening day we discovered, so keen was the competition, that the whole of our commodious premises could have been let for exhibition purposes. Our highest charge for a small stand was £5 ; one tradesman told the writer that he would give £20 for a similar position. Ladies tell us that £20 represents an enormous amount of work at a sewing meeting. The assembling of the exhibition was the work of the individual exhibitors, who

were as keen on the neatness and artistic appearance of their exhibits as if they had been displaying their goods at Wembley. The combined result was a credit to organisers and exhibitors.

In a way not otherwise possible the exhibition made the bazaar a town's affair. Every exhibitor advertised for us. Men came in large numbers, and remained, because their interest was caught, and kept. The crowds who visited the exhibition spread themselves over the whole undertaking, with profitable results to every department. There was no need to guess a doll's name, or to number the peas in a bottle in order to relieve the tedium and to raise a few extra shillings. The extra people did all that was required.

To anyone with a little imagination the advantages of such an innovation will be obvious. The men of the congregation get congenial work; church premises are put to local patriotic use which the community, as a whole, appreciates; the poor hum-drum bazaar, with its intermittent business, becomes a continuous centre of interest and activity; whilst, incidentally, the bazaar receipts are easily and pleasantly swollen.

Out of our small, experimental effort has come the conception of a local Tradesmen's Exhibition on a big scale, bringing together examples of all the town's activities and products. Why not? Here is a method by which Christian men can serve the local community, as well as help one or other of their church interests. Besides, it is an outlet for talent and a popular form of useful activity.

LUKE BEAUMONT.

CONGREGATIONALISM AN ORGANISM?

AMONG a great many Congregationalists and Baptists anyone who ventures to criticise the absolute practice of the principle of Independency is in the position of one who should enter a powder magazine with a lighted match. There is likely to be an explosion, and the rash man will have to take care if he is to escape in safety. Yet there is no direction in the whole region of Congregational polity where the light of criticism and discussion is more needed. I do not think that any person of discernment who is aware of the currents of thought in Congregationalism can deny that there are forces at work around this matter of Independence which may ere long develop into a conflict of a peculiarly sharp and dangerous kind.

The polity of Congregationalism is, under the changed conditions of modern life and thought, on its defence and has to justify itself afresh. If it show itself unable to meet the demands and to fulfil the requirements of its environment its decay is inevitable. There are many among us who believe that our polity is capable of such adjustment to modern conditions, without the sacrifice of any vital principle,

as will enable it to meet what is required of it ; it has a place and a function in the twentieth century as it had in the centuries preceding.

But equally do we believe that, if its place is to be maintained and its function discharged, it must be prepared to make such adjustment to environment. This is a law of being to which every living organism is subject. If Congregationalism is to live it must obey this law.

There are not a few people who seem incapable of appreciating the difference between disloyalty to a principle and the modification of the forms in which the principle may have been expressed. Immediately you begin to modify the forms they tell you you are disloyal to your principle. They cling to the forms regardless of the fact that the principle may, by a process of development, have outgrown them, and be in process of being strangled in the strait-jacket of effete expression. They prefer carrying around a corpse to calling in a physician. It is the old story of the letter which killeth.

It is the case that a number of Congregationalists are Independents first and Congregationalists afterwards, while for most of us the rose by either name smells as sweet. They do not recognise that the definition of Independency is more or less negative, and is a corollary from Congregationalism, which is the positive and really significant term.

It was an unfortunate circumstance which, in the sixteenth century, attached the name of " Independent " to the Congregational order—unfortunate at the time, since it associated Congregationalism with the several forms of fanatic and fantastic reaction from the old order in religion, and unfortunate in succeeding centuries, since in the minds of Congregationalists themselves it has given to the factor of Independency an emphasis quite out of proportion to its proper place and value.

It is easy for anyone familiar with its history to understand how the idea of Independency came to bulk so largely in the minds of the leaders of sixteenth century Congregationalism.

(1) IN ITS RELATION TO THE STATE. The root conceptions of Congregationalism are : (a) That membership of the Church implies, as a necessary condition, the relation of personal love and loyalty to Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Lord, on the part of the disciple ; (b) That a Church consists of individuals who have definitely entered upon this relationship, and of those only. These conceptions carried with them, as a necessary corollary, that the community of persons who formed a Church could acknowledge no authority in spiritual matters other than that of Jesus Christ Himself, and so were fatal to the claim of ecclesiastical supremacy so rigorously asserted by the Tudor sovereigns, fatal both as applied to the Church and to the individual disciple. The civil authority had no standing in the Church and no voice in her spiritual affairs, no shadow of right to determine her polity,

to prescribe her forms of doctrine or to interfere with her internal administration.

The Church in all these matters is independent of the State. To have conceded any jot or tittle of this independence would have been to sacrifice every distinctive principle for which the early Independents stood. The stress of the conflict which developed around this point between themselves and the Crown tended, in the nature of the case, to give to the bare idea of independence an emphasis which was out of proportion to its proper place in the economy of their faith.

(2) IN THE RELATION OF THE VARIOUS COMMUNITIES AND "GATHERED CHURCHES" TO EACH OTHER. Here again, the two main principles of Congregationalism carried with them, as a necessary inference, the spiritual independence of each community from the control of any other. Every society of believers is spiritually self-sufficient, since with every such society, however small in number or humble in circumstance, Christ Himself is present to lead and inspire. Mutual guidance, suggestion, exhortation, conference, all this was possible between the separate churches—though (as it was so easy for any of them to drift into compulsion) even these were regarded with some hesitation by Elizabethan Congregationalists. But the spiritual control of the separate church by any outside authority was regarded as a denial of the reality of the presence of Christ with the society of believers, a repudiation of His supremacy and of the reality of His promise that wherever two or three were gathered together in His name He would be in their midst.

This position landed them in sharp and irreconcilable opposition not only to the Crown, but to the ecclesiastical theory of the Church which had held undisputed sway in Christendom for a thousand years. Rome and the East, Canterbury and Edinburgh, all alike repudiated this claim for the spiritual independence of the "gathered Church" as a blasphemous and disruptive schism; the Scottish Presbyterian looked on it with as severe disapproval as did Romanist or Anglican. Congregationalism thus found itself committed to a strenuous battle with ecclesiasticism on its own distinctive conception of the true nature of a Church, but along with that conception, and arising from it, there was brought into the conflict the idea of the spiritual independence of every community which answered to the conception of a true Church of Christ.

This tradition of independence was, by the circumstances of the time, so wrought into the thought of Congregationalism that it did in the days of storm and stress, and has ever since, in a measure, obscured the greater and more positive principles which lie behind it: it has been thrown entirely out of its proper perspective in the scheme. Congregationalism, as held by a considerable number of people, is a bald and barren negation, and very little else. Having asserted the independence of the Church from State control, and the right of their

own particular church to do exactly as it pleases, they imagine that they have realised the Congregational ideal. It is to be feared that in some of our churches there is greater anxiety to maintain the liberty to tell everybody to mind their own business than there is a humble and reverent submission to Jesus Christ. Congregationalism does not mean independence pure and simple : it means absolute dependence on the will of Christ. The claim to independence of outside control, civil or ecclesiastical, is only spiritually valid when it is asserted for the purpose of securing the more absolute submission of the individual and the society to the Divine will. It is not spiritual isolation born of a proud and pugnacious individualism, still less is it spiritual anarchy. It is a spiritual communism, penetrated through and through with a sense of dependence of God in Christ, and if it is to dam up every channel by which God's will may be more clearly perceived and more effectually done, then it denies the reason for its own existence.

The spirit of the age is strongly anti-individualistic ; we understand how true it is that " no man liveth unto himself," that " as the body is one and hath many members, and the members of the body, being many, are one body," so also is human society, and especially, " so also is Christ." Given the right of private judgment (involving, do not let us forget, the burden of private responsibility) and entire freedom of association, or of withdrawal from, fellowship, insisting always on the voluntary nature of all forms of Christian fellowship, it ought to be possible to give effect, within the circle of the root principles of Congregationalism, to the spirit of the age. It ought to be possible to combine the spiritual independence of Congregationalism with the interdependence of every healthy organism expressing itself in a fully organised life.

How far these two elements of spiritual independence and organic interdependence may be combined in some workable scheme, and to give effect to it, is the problem that lies before us. It would seem that the position cannot remain just as it has been since the days of our fathers, and remain so indefinitely. We have in recent years begun to travel in the direction of a closer inter-church relationship, though every step has been taken in face of the strong opposition of those for whom independence is the main thing. There are not wanting those who declare that we are travelling back to ecclesiastical tyranny, casting away the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free—and this, because there is manifesting itself a disposition on the part of the individual church to accept a voluntary limitation of the freedom to do as it pleases for the sake of securing a higher efficiency and wider effectiveness for the whole body.

It would seem that Congregationalism has to perfect itself as a spiritual organism, or to accept the alternative of decadence. It is the dead weight of the immense prejudice of some of our churches against even the self-limitation, in any direction, of the uncontrolled freedom

to please themselves, that constitutes a grave hindrance to our progress and efficiency in the work that is calling us in our day and generation.

All this is not to say that Congregationalism should relinquish its loyalty to the idea of spiritual independence which is bound up with its fundamental conception of the nature of discipleship or of the Church. Congregationalism can modify the forms in which it expresses its principles of spiritual and intellectual independency without sacrificing its distinctive loyalty to the principles themselves.†

“Independency in the sense of isolation is a principle of weakness. A Church is certainly right to guard its own liberty so far as to refuse external dictation and control. But a Church starves its best life when it practically builds a wall around itself, and shuts out the free winds of the Spirit which blow across the wide spaces of social life. Churches maintain their vigour, widen their outlook, develop their resources through mutual intercourse, consultation, co-operation for common ends. They are free Communities, and may, if they like, manifest their freedom by declining to enter into fellowship or to contribute their units of force to the current of organized effort. But they are also free to do the reverse. There is a limit to the complexity of organization to which they may consent, and it is reached when the tendency to organize begins to be tyrannous. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that organized Independency is a contradiction. As a Society of free and responsible personalities is the highest, so is the organization of free and responsible Societies. And the promise holds good for Churches as for individuals: ‘Give, and it shall be given unto you: good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye meet withal shall it be measured to you again.’” (POWICKE, *Henry Barrow*, xliv.).

It may be said—it is said—that this means “Connexionalism.” This word is to the out-and-out Independent as the proverbial red rag to a bull. But, after all, why stumble at a word? May there not be degrees and varieties in Connexionalism? Is it not possible to combine Connexionalism with liberty, so that it should simply mean for us another name for Congregationalism organised for work?

If the Spirit of Christ is free to act within the circle of the single separated church, may not that same Spirit be equally free to act within the larger circle of a thousand separated churches united and meeting together for the more effective furtherance of the business of the Kingdom of God? Call it by whatever name one may wish, does it not demand, at least the earnest consideration of a body of Christian people that desires to reach the highest point of efficiency in an age so pregnant with possibilities for the establishing of the Kingdom, as the age in which Congregationalism lives to-day? Let us give up the shouting of names and the waving of flags, and get down to business.

BENJAMIN A. MILLARD.

CHRIST AND CHRISTOLOGY

Who art thou, O thou form unknown,
From age to age more wondrous grown,
Whose voice, still heard through all our sin,
Troubles the sluggish deeps within,
And draws us from ourselves, to turn
And on thy face to gaze and yearn ?

Who art thou, Victor, who dost gain
Such diverse captives for thy train ?
Earth's noblest and her vilest meet
In joyful bondage at thy feet ;
Nor age, nor race, nor clime can stay
The silent triumph of thy sway.

Who art thou, Mighty one, whose hand
Can rend the bonds that fate had planned ?
The spells of use and wont, the chain
Of sins bequeathed in blood and brain,
And change, with swift redeeming might,
The thralls of sin to sons of light.

Who art thou, Lord ? Our clouded mind
No rest in well-spun phrase can find ;
Words are but words ; no human speech
Thy being's mystery can reach ;
We hold no angel's measuring rod
To fix the line 'twixt man and God.

Who art thou, Lord ? we ask no more,
Content in rapture to adore ;
Drawn to thy cross, made slowly wise,
Our sins forgiven, and purged our eyes,
We rest at length in joy and awe,
Thy love our life, thy will our law.

E. S. ARMITAGE.

FOREIGN REVIEWS AND IMPRESSIONS.

- Recuerdos de Niñez y de Mocedad.** Por M. de Unamuno V. Suarez. F. Fé. Madrid. 3 pesetas. (Recollections of Childhood and Youth.)
- Ensayos.** Por MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO. (Collected Essays in Six Volumes) Residencia de Estudiantes. Madrid. 3 pesetas per vol.
- Del sentimiento trágico de la vida.** Por M. DE UNAMUNO. Renacimiento. Madrid. 3.50 pesetas.
- The Tragic Sense of Life.** (Translation of above by J. CRAWFORD FLITCH.) Macmillan, 1921. 17s.
- The Genius of Spain.** English Essays by SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. Oxford Univ. Press. 10s. (containing the essay on Unamuno, originally printed as a foreword to the above translation, and other essays on contemporary Spanish writers.)

"I have no recollection of being born. This matter of my birth—and my birth is my cardinal success up-to-date, as my death will be my cardinal success in the future—this matter of my birth is something which I have received on authority, and which, for the rest, I know by deduction. And thus directly here in the most important act of my life I have no intuitive or immediate knowledge, but have to content myself with believing it on the testimony of others. There is consolation in this, for it leads me to hope that I shall in the future be able similarly to dispense with any intuitive or immediate information about my death."—(*Niñez y Mocedad*).

Circumstances limit our intellectual horizons and sometimes rob us of material for spiritual progress. We tramp the old familiar round like a blindfolded horse in a mill, till the very dust we tread is the dust of our own feet. And sometimes it seems that the most significant names—the real prophets of our own day and generation—are those of whom most of us have never heard. Some there are who do not want to hear—who read no one new until everyone is reading him. Others pride themselves on only reading writers unknown to any of their friends; they search for the exotic, and prize it as such, unwilling or incapable of appreciating or criticising intrinsic worth of either new or old.

Of both these dangers we need to beware, and whilst not despising the old and tried, we must remember that our views of truth require constant fresh adjustment to the changing environment of life, for intellectual views are the gun by means of which the vital forces of the unseen, of our experience of that unseen, are trained to shoot at and to modify our conduct in actual life. In short, we ought to be constantly on the look-out for new prophets, through whom we may attain fresh revelations, shepherds who may lead us to the Delectable Mountains, and thence afford us inspiring views of the Celestial City, or Interpreters who may show us again in the House Beautiful the meaning of Life in relation to our own times.

It may be that in Kierkegaard the Dane and Unamuno the Spaniard we have two such messengers, guides who can release us from the intellectualist chains in which so many of our greatest English thinkers wriggle uneasily, unaware of the obsolete nature of their constricting Hegelian armour. At all events, it is Unamuno whom we now desire to introduce to our readers, to some of whom, it may be, even his name is unfamiliar. And it will be best to present his portrait at once, as it has been drawn for us by the skilful pen of his personal friend, Salvador de Madariaga :

A tall, broad-shouldered, bony man, with high cheeks, a beak-like nose, pointed grey beard, and a complexion the colour of the red hæmatites, on which Bilbao, his native town, is built, and which Bilbao ruthlessly plucks from its very body to exchange for gold in the markets of England—and in the deep sockets under the high aggressive forehead prolonged by short iron-grey hair, two eyes like gimlets eagerly watching the world through spectacles which seem to be purposely pointed at the object like microscopes; a fighting expression, but of noble fighting, above the prizes of the passing world, which is shown in a peculiar attire whose blackness invades even that little triangle of white which worldly men leave on their breast for the necktie of frivolity and the decorations of vanity, and, blinding it, leaves but the thinnest rim of white collar to emphasize, rather than to relieve, the priestly effect of the whole. Such is Don Miguel de Unamuno.

Such, rather, is his photograph. For Unamuno himself is ever changing. A talker, as all good Spaniards are nowadays, but a talker in earnest and with his heart in it, he is varied, like the subjects of his conversation, and, still more, like the passions which they awake in him. . . . a Professor of Greek in the University of Salamanca, an ex-Rector of it who left behind the reputation of being a strong ruler; a father of a numerous family, and a man who has sung the quiet and deep joys of married life with a restraint, a vigour and a nobility which it would be difficult to match in any literature. . . . his reading is prodigious. Not only is he familiar with the stock-in-trade of every intellectual worker . . . but there is hardly anything worth reading in Europe and America which he has not read, and, but for the Slav languages, in the original . . . It was in his library at Salamanca that he once explained to an Englishman the meaning of a particular Scotticism in Robert Burns, and it was there that he congratulated another Englishman on his having read *Rural Rides*, 'the hall-mark,' he said, 'of the man of letters who is no mere man of letters, but also a man.'

Don Miguel de Unamuno, then, is no priest, but a layman, a scholar, but also a *man*, a man of amazingly tenacious memory, of omnivorous interests, a university don, but also poet, novelist, essayist, and spiritual inspirer.

Since Señor de Madariaga's essay was written, several years ago, Unamuno has suffered the fate of many prophets. Like his brilliant countryman, Blasco Ibáñez, he is now a political exile in Paris. A breach with the Government and a period spent, I gather, in Dublin, was followed by a reconciliation, permission to return to Spain, and a personal interview with the King. But relations again became strained and, after a sojourn in the Canaries, de Unamuno found refuge in France. Such, in vague outline, appears to be the story of his last two or three years. His position as Rector of his university he was practically forced to resign years ago, but the Greek chair there he held until the final clash with the powers that be.

Unamuno is a spiritual genius, unless many well qualified to judge are hopelessly mistaken. But he is also essentially a Spaniard. And indeed his whole message smacks of its Spanish origin. Nor is it unworthy of notice that Denmark and Spain, in spite of their great differences, are politically in similar favourable positions in so far as the production of prophets is concerned. As countries once politically important but now reduced to the status of "second-class" powers, they are relieved from the necessity of that unremitting attention to political ambitions and anxieties which absorbs so much of the best energies of, say, Britain or France. It is this common advantage, from the point of view of the religious thinker, which caused us to mention in one breath the name of the Dane Kierkegaard, dead seventy years since, and that of the very much living Spaniard Unamuno. Nor is the connexion merely fanciful; for on opening the *Sentimiento Trágico*, which is Unamuno's greatest book, and indeed the summing up of his faith, the reader finds frequent quotations from Kierkegaard, of whose writings our author is very fond.

One of the greatest services which Madariaga has done us in his beautiful book of English essays, *The Genius of Spain*, is his demonstration of the error we commit when we lump Spain together with France and Italy, as "Latin

Europe". History and geography should teach us better. Geographically, the Peninsula is rather part of N. Africa than of Europe. In Mochajar-Wejer the Christian peasant women still wear the Moorish veil and, in spite of their Christian baptism, cherish many Muslim usages. In Elche and in Orihuela, hard by old Cartagena, the date-palm flourishes. We think of Spanish civilisation as having its origins, like our own, in the Roman occupation—remembering the long siege of Saguntum, and recalling that the modern names of Leon and of Zaragoza are but other spellings of the Roman *legionem* and of the imperial *Cæsar Augusta*. And then we trace the Vandals in their settlement of (V)Andalusia, and later find in the name of the Guadalquivir the Arabic of the invading Muslims, and see that it is but *wādy-al-kabir*, "the great river", whilst Medina Sidonia, "the city of Sidon," shows where the Moorish troopers brought from Syria were finally settled. And so past the golden prime when the Alhambra and the Alcázar were built, and when the Cid (*sayyid*) ruled as a brigand chief, and led the rising forces of Christian nationalism, till we come to Ferdinand and Isabella, the union of Castile and Aragón, and the expulsion of the Moors. Then to the Golden Age of Spain, when, in spite of Drake and Hawkins, Spain spread Europe-shadowing wings, and in the shelter of her power art and literature blossomed for a century in the names of Velázquez and Murillo, Goya and El Greco, Cervantes and Lope and Calderón.

Of modern Spain, Spain of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we Englishmen are too little aware. We neither love nor are interested, so how should we seek to know? We at most pry curiously, as does the tourist, who returns reporting that Madrid has good theatres, that the stone-work of the exquisite Alhambra is falling to pieces, and that, for the rest, the Spanish peasant resembles in his primitiveness the under-servants in the Ipswich kitchens, as described by Mr. Nupkins' footman to the immortal Sam Weller:

That's the worst of country service, Mr. Weller, the juniors is always so werry savage.

Of course you and I really know a little more than this. For example, we are aware that Spain lost nearly all her vast South American possessions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that through the forties—our own "hungry forties"—internal dissensions connected with the Carlist movement prevented the country from settling down or repairing the ravages of the Napoleonic invasion and the Peninsular War. We have read Seton Merriman's two best novels—*The Velvet Glove* and *In Kedar's Tents*, and think that we understand something of the sinister influence which Jesuitism has exerted in Spanish life and politics. And in *The Velvet Glove* we have caught something of the fascination of the Basque country where the hero Marcos lived, and in another part of which Unamuno was born. For Unamuno too is a Basque, and proudly claims the same blood as two other Basques, Ignacio Loyola and the head of Port Royal, the Abbé de St. Cyran, both passionate, original, eager, glowing, vivid, as he is himself.

And then, passing to our own times, we come to the first war which some of us can vividly remember, the sinking of the *Maine*, and the forced cession of Cuba and the Philippines to the United States. Thus, finally, in 1898, Spain reached and passed the crisis, and thenceforth ceased to exist, for all practical purposes, as an imperial power, retaining only certain African spheres, such as Morocco, and the Rio de Oro on the West Coast. It was then that a new school of poets and novelists arose from the ashes of political disillusion and defeat, and these are still known as the group of '98. And in this group Miguel de Unamuno stands head and shoulders above the rest.

Of the others the best known names are those of Blasco Ibáñez, Ramiro de Maeztu, Pio Baroja, Azorín, Ortega y Gasset, and that Galician poet whose very name, as Madariaga points out, is an exquisite metrical line, Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán.

Spain has passed through strange times since '98. We have seen the attempt to set up a constitutional liberal *régime*, followed by the assassination of Canalejas and the return of the conservatives under Maura; we have watched the interminable "speculators' war" in Morocco, in which the manhood of Spain has been frittered away for years before the long guns of the Riff tribesmen; we have heard of the "red" risings in industrial Barcelona and their association with Catalan nationalism; we thrilled with horror at the news of the shooting of the educationist Ferrer by the military junta then governing Spain. And just lately, we know that even the semblance of representative government has been set aside, and that Spain is once again avowedly under the rule of a directory of military officers.

Thus it is clear that in Spain the literary man can only be tolerated as long as he pursues literature as an end in itself, or else prostitutes it in the service of political or ecclesiastical orthodoxy. But to do either of these is to kill true literature. Literature, like art and music, is a material and intellectual means of expressing religious experience, and is an instrument by which religious faith—for all faith is religious—moulds the social and ethical behaviour of men whilst re-acting also on the experience which gave it birth. In such a state as Spain intellectual liberalism and religious enthusiasm can only be tolerated as long as they do not seek to interfere with political administration. Literary genius must thus confine itself to description, or at most to the depiction of individual piety.¹ The moment genius becomes inspirational, the moment it seeks, as it must do in the case of a passionate active spirit, to take a hand in real affairs, it suffers the fate of a Canalejas or of a Ferrer, or the milder but perhaps not less bitter experience of an Unamuno or Ibáñez.

And more. In Spain there is a very sharp distinction, amounting to an impassable psychological barrier, between the small group of spiritual intellectuals and all the rest of the country. Such men as the group of '98 have little or no means of communicating their message to the largely illiterate bulk of the population in the villages, from whom they are separated by many centuries of development. On the other hand the professional classes of Spain—physicians, scientists, and lawyers—are mostly sceptical at heart. For in Spain the choice lies between nominal acquiescence in the teaching of the Church and complete loss of faith. But the sceptic is usually also a moral cynic and as he has no belief in the reality or ethical value of personality, so he can never be a fount of moral indignation or a permanent danger to the forces of reaction, with whom indeed he is most likely to coalesce.

The greatness of Unamuno consists just in this, that he has been through the furnace of intellectual questioning and has emerged, not, in truth, a strictly orthodox Catholic, but a sanely religious spirit, filled with the authentic fire. He has—if he will forgive a good Methodist phrase which he probably knows well—"the root of the matter in him," or as the Quakers say, he is a "weighty Friend" with a "genuine concern".

One of the charms of reading Unamuno, though, is that he is unexpected. He cannot be classified. Just when you think he is going to pull out your own pet dogma, he enunciates the very opposite. Not that he lives for the

¹ This is the case, e.g., with the delightful talent of Gregorio Martínez Sierra, poet, playwright, and theatrical proprietor, whose delicate *Cradle Song* and *Romantic Young Lady* have been produced in England just lately.

sake of paradox. He is far too earnest and too positive a teacher for that. But he has a puckish love of startling settled complacency. This makes him eminently readable, even to one with merely a superficial knowledge of Spanish. You can read him in chunks, drop on him anywhere and anyhow, and in odd moments, and be sure of soon coming on something worth finding. It would be impossible to quote the whole of the extracts which were accumulated in odd moments during the last two months from a very desultory and haphazard perusal of some of the *Essays*. As an illustration of the mischievous nature of the man, regard the following story, which was related to me as an instance of his "buffoonery" by one who does not approve of him on political grounds. The other day someone went to call on him and submitted an opinion for his approval. "Ah, yes, yes," said Unamuno, "but you must also look at the thing from *this* point of view." And, bending down, he placed his head on the floor and looked back between his own legs, thus making clear, as it seems, that everything must be looked at from the topsy-turvy, as well as from the accepted, position. The story is really characteristic—you must picture the tall, thin figure with legs like a pair of tongs—and recalls a delightful quotation from Kierkegaard in the *Sentimiento Trágico* and its sequel:

Let us hear what our brother Kierkegaard has to say: "The danger of abstract thought is seen precisely in respect of the problem of existence, the difficulty of which it solves by going round it, afterwards boasting that it has completely examined it."

But though he quotes this with approval, Unamuno's sense of fairness, and also his delight in the whimsical, do not allow him to leave Hegel (against whom Kierkegaard is of course fulminating) without a word of consolation, and he therefore comments:

But I don't think that brother Kierkegaard is altogether in the right here, because the same abstract thinker, or thinker of abstractions, thinks *in order* to exist, in order not to leave off existing, or at any rate he thinks in order to forget that he will have to leave off existing. Such is indeed the root of the passion for abstract thought. And possibly it may be that Hegel was just as infinitely interested as was Kierkegaard in his very own, concrete and singular existence, although he hid this in order to maintain the professional decorum of the state philosopher. For these things are tricks of the trade.

What Unamuno has to say about giving both sides their due is even better expressed perhaps, and the passage is equally characteristic of the man, in his essay *Almas de jóvenes*, where he declares:

The less you read, the more harm you get from what you read. The less ideas you have and the poorer these are, the more will you be a slave of these few and mean ideas. For ideas compensate one another, they contrast with one another, they weigh against one another, and even go so far as to destroy one another.

Returning for a moment to the quotation from Kierkegaard, it will be of value to make plain Unamuno's position as regards the intellectual comprehension of the so-called absolute. In this matter he frankly says, what indeed was confessed only two nights since by a very well-known scholar and thinker, that the philosophical absolute is really in fact nothing. *Deus propter excellentiam non inmerito nihil vocatur*. Such a God, as he rightly points out, has no religious value for us. As Dr. L. R. Farnell recently said, "A temporary Shakespeare is to be placed above an eternal triangle." On the other hand, the God of religion is intensely personal, intensely, almost fiercely—if you will—anthropomorphic.

I believe in God as I believe in my friends, to feel the warm breath of his affection, and his invisible and intangible hand which draws me and raises me and presses me, to have the intimate consciousness of a particular providence and

of a universal mind which traces for me my own personal destiny. And the concept of the law of the universe—which after all is nothing but an intellectual concept!—has nothing to say to me and teaches me nothing. . . . A God who is Reason, a theoretical and contemplative God, as is this God of theological rationalism, is a God who dissolves away to nothing in contemplation of Himself. To this God corresponds, as we shall see, the beatific vision as supreme expression of eternal felicity. A quietist God, in short, just as Reason itself is quietist in its real essence.

In the seventh chapter of the *Sentimiento Trágico*¹ Unamuno gives us a typical criticism of positivism :

It is useless for Comte to declare that human thought has already left the theological state and is now emerging from the metaphysical state and entering on that of positivism ; the three states co-exist and mutually support, although at the same time they mutually oppose, each other. When positivism is ablaze with enthusiasm, when it leaves off denying in order to affirm something, that is, when it really becomes *positive* in the proper sense, it is inevitably metaphysical, and metaphysics is always, at bottom, theology, and theology is born of imagination dedicated to the service of life, life which yearns to be immortal.

It would be easy to continue a discussion of the philosophy which is involved in Unamuno's position—easy, but perhaps unprofitable. In the chapter called *de Dios a Dios* he strives to show that we must begin from the primitive sense of the divine in man, and continuously interpret God in human terms. He quotes delightfully from *The Clouds*, the passage in which Socrates is introduced as trying to wean the old Strepsiades from his anthropomorphism.

Str. But the power which drives them [the clouds] along is surely Zeus, isn't it ?

Soc. Not a bit of it. 'Tis ætherial whirligig.

Str. Whirligig ? I hadn't heard about that. Then old man Zeus is no more, and son Whirligig reigns in his stead.

This, in fact, says Unamuno, is the actual result, if it can be called a result, of trying to substitute an intellectual Abstraction for an anthropomorphic God. It is doubtless possible to attack him on logical grounds, but then Unamuno, like Bergson, does not regard intellect as absolute, or as a fully competent tool for the comprehension of reality. It is a means of getting bread and butter, but, as both Kant and Bergson affirm, it can never grasp reality because its very nature causes it to manipulate and cover that reality with its intellectual forms.

Unamuno rightly says, in one of his essays, that Kant ought not to be thought of as an intellectual.

The intellectuals—Kant, strictly speaking, was not one, in despite of deceptive appearances—; the intellectuals, I say, are merely of use as intermediaries between the spirituals and the naturals.

And as for the naturals, they also are men of flesh and bone, not mere oversophisticated intellects, and therefore they are whole and sane and capable each one of a religious experience *of his own*.

We must repeat to the people, day after day after day, that it is impossible to delegate the intimate things of the spirit ; that each one must forge out for himself his own hopes and his own consolations . . . we must give the people faith in themselves . . . faith in their own ignorance, faith in their own inner sapience, and above all we must smash up in them the so-called "charcoal-burner's faith" . . . our business is to awake faith and not to give them dogmas.

I had marked this paragraph "Protestantism !" in my notes. This morning I read it without introduction to a friend. As I finished he burst out

¹ Where, by the way, p. 143 of the English translation curiously has "Kant" for "Comte".

"Protestantism!" And yet Unamuno says that we Protestants make the mistake of building religion on ethics, instead of ethics on religion!

In preparation for this little paper the writer spent a morning in calling on several people who, it seemed, might be able to throw more light on the subject. One of these was Fr. Walker, the head of the Jesuit mission in Oxford, who very kindly lent a copy of his own review of *The Tragic Sense of Life*, published in the *Dublin Review* three years ago. It is extremely interesting to see how such a mind approaches Unamuno. It could hardly be expected that a Jesuit scholar should give anything but very cautious and qualified approval to the work of such a very free-thinking Catholic as the Spanish professor. In effect, the review, whilst blessing the man and his conclusions, dismisses the grounds on which they rest as being merely a new and vivid way of presenting the pragmatic humanism of James and Schiller. Of course Jesuitism is intensely intellectual, and more could hardly be expected. It would be interesting to see how Unamuno appeals to the Thomist mind, and perhaps I ought to have approached one of the Dominican fathers who have lately settled amongst us.

A second call was made on Father Cary, of the Cowley Fathers, who is a student of Spanish and has travelled in the country, though he is not, he tells me, personally acquainted with Señor de Unamuno. Father Cary believes that Unamuno is very well worth studying and of considerable importance. He has evidently conceived a real affection for this most endearing writer—and his own theological position is presumably more Thomist than Jesuit.

It is possible that the Dominican might take more satisfaction in such a sentence as the following, than would the Jesuit:

And if all the consciousnesses of all beings run together to make up the eternal consciousness, this, that is to say, God, is all.

Yet not because they are rational, nor in the a-personal pantheistic sense, for the way to the divine is through love and through suffering and through pity, and the tragic sense of life is itself the continual conflict between intellect and vitality, between reason and individual personality.

Imagination, which is the social feeling, animates the inanimate, anthropomorphizes it all; humanises or rather makes human all of it . . . reason, on its side, mechanizes or materializes . . . for to believe in God is in a sort of way to create Him; although He Himself thinks us "first of all. (Porque creer en Dios es en cierto modo crearle: aunque El nos cree antes.)

The pun in the original here should be noted. Unamuno can't help doing this sort of thing even when he is talking theology. For example, *música celestial* in Spanish not only means celestial music but is also a synonym for "airy nonsense," and so Señor de Unamuno, who reads everything, even Protestants like Ritschl and Herrmann and Troeltsch, yes, and often quotes them with approval, has his little fling at Protestantism when he says:

And in a Protestant theologian, in Ernst Troeltsch, I have read that the highest thing Protestantism has produced in the conceptual order is in the art of music, so that it is in Bach that it finds its most effective artistic expression. 'Tis into this then that Protestantism dissolves, into celestial music!

Finally, as one reads Unamuno it becomes more and more clear that the separation between the religion of simple people and that of intellectuals is fatal in any country. This is well expressed in the essay on *Los naturales y los espirituales* where there is a most illuminating passage on the so-called "implicit faith of the charcoal burner" (a favourite phrase with Spanish Catholics). The charcoal burner's real faith, says Unamuno, consists in the mass of primitive tradition by which his life is guided, "the stock of fables

and superstitions, of omens and magic charms " which go far back beyond Christian beginnings. His mere assent to Catholicism has no religious value whatever.

And such is the " faith " of the charcoal burner, who says " I believe what Holy Mother Church believes " and then, when he is asked what She believes, answers : " The same as I believe," and will not budge from that position. This is indeed to believe in the Church, but not to believe in what the Church teaches.

Unamuno then, is a personality to whom we can return again and again. He is no mere logician, but, as he says himself, a man, a man of flesh and bone. In his essays, perhaps more than in his one translated work, is that man to be found, as he stares into the star-sprinkled heavens, and pities their mortality, or watches the oxen ploughing the stony hill-sides of Castile, or wanders round his library in Salamanca, and through the window notes the red tiles of a neighbouring roof and the pigeons drinking in the gutters, or the dusky swifts wheeling round the eaves in the Spanish sunshine. A strange bright figure, all flame and gloom, black and gold, like his own Spain, the broad sombrero for the blaze of noon and the heavy cloak for the chilly winds of night-time. To quote our own Browning, whom Unamuno loves so well and quotes so often, his faith, being a child of beauty and death, of love and sorrow, reminds us of Waring :

Now, while he turns down that cool narrow lane,
Into the blackness, out of grave Madrid
All fire and shine, abrupt as when there's slid
Its stiff gold blazing pall
From some black coffin-lid.

" For Love, O readers and brothers mine, is the most tragic thing in the world and in life . . . and she is the unique medicine against Death, being indeed his sister."

J. P. NAISH.

THE RETIREMENT OF PROF. SERING.

THE occasion of this brief notice is the retirement of Max Sering from active professional work in the University of Berlin on reaching the " Altersgrenze " or age limit fixed by the State for University professors. As an old pupil I am anxious to give our readers a short appreciation of a great scholar and a noble man, whose name and fame are not as widely known in this country as they ought to be. Those who, like myself, have for many years enjoyed the privilege of his friendship and the enrichment of his inspiring teaching feel constrained to offer a tribute of affection and gratitude.

When an English student has overcome the technicalities and formalities of matriculation in a German University he finds himself floundering in a deep sea. How to get his special line of research recognised by an " ordinarius " professor is the chief problem. After some weeks of helplessness, gradually verging into hopelessness, he may be told : " Ah, yes, there is a man in Heidelberg or in Giessen who is interested in that," and off he may have to go, to orientate his ideas in a new direction. It was at this stage that I first came into touch with Sering and joined his seminar. His lecture room and his seminar were both crowded with students. Though there were many foreigners, I was the only Englishman, and he came gradually to turn to me when economic conditions in England were being discussed. What quickly impressed me was his exact and profound knowledge, his universal outlook, his passionate enthusiasm, and his noble manly character. When he was a young " Doctor," just twenty-five years old, he had been sent to

America by the Prussian Government to study and report on agrarian conditions in that country. He was impressed with the optimism of American industrial life, and his whole teaching activity has been stamped with that optimism, which has given it a brightness, a buoyancy, a fervour which have influenced all his students. He has made them work, but he has done much more than that—he has made them love their work. He could descend like an avalanche upon the slacker: he could pour scorn upon the man who was inexact in his statement of fact and loose in his formulation of argument: but to the earnest scientific student he was the unfailing guide and counsellor—his vast knowledge, mature judgment, keen practical sense were always entirely at his disposal. Sering is not “bookish theoretic,” high and dry, remote from the actualities of life and experience. The practical application of knowledge is, with him, the crowning achievement of scientific work, much as it was with Osler at Oxford.

Whenever and wherever political controversy turns on economic fact or economic theory Sering has entered whole-heartedly into the political arena. He has been the champion of Workers' Committees; he supplied a programme for Inner Colonisation; he is the author of the German Land Settlement Act. At the present time, as I gather from a recent private letter, he is deeply engaged in defending a Free Trade policy—at least as regards agricultural produce. In these ways he has provided a scientific brain for political movements, of immense value and importance for the future of his country. But he does much more than this, for his influence in academic circles and in public life is in the direction of forming character, of creating a vivid sense of responsibility among scholars and politicians, of inspiring a consciousness of public duty among educated men. It is not surprising, therefore, that his retirement has led to an outburst of admiration, reverence and gratitude, not only from his former pupils but also from the general public, who have come at length to regard him as a great national force of whom they have every right to be proud. When the Universities of a country produce such men they perform an incalculable service to the whole community. I feel grateful to the Editor of this Journal for the opportunity he has given me of adding these few words of appreciation.

At the outbreak of the war Prof. Sering told me that he feared his only son would soon be involved. When I next saw him he told me that that son, after serving four years, was killed a fortnight before the Armistice. He has borne with courage a blow that shattered his hopes, but again like Osler, similarly afflicted, he has found that “the only medicine for sorrow is time and hard work.”

W. BLACKSHAW.

CURRENT LITERATURE

"Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."—FRANCIS BACON.

"A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."—JOHN MILTON.

(The place of publication is London, and the date 1925, unless otherwise stated.)

King Edward VII. Vol. I. By SIR SIDNEY LEE. Macmillan. 3rs. 6d.

The Early Life and Letters of Cavour. 1810-1848. By A. J. WHYTE. Oxford Univ. Press. 15s.

Cardinal Newman. By BERTRAM NEWMAN. Bell. 8s. 6d.

Robert Moffat. By EDWIN W. SMITH. S.C.M. 5s.

Is it possible for a book to be both dull and interesting? Sir Sidney Lee's biography of Edward VII. shows that the answer is in the affirmative. Most intelligent people find nineteenth century politics very engrossing, and not even 800 pages of Sir Sidney Lee's staccato sentences can destroy the fascination of the subject. But oh! for a little sparkle, for a few sentences cast in other than the uniform mould! Let anyone not keenly interested take up this biography, and he will find it as dull as any volume of eighteenth century sermons ever published. Mr. Newman and Mr. Smith could both give points to Sir Sidney Lee in regard to style.

Sir Sidney, of course, is always eminently proper and studiously correct: there are no indiscretions, and enthusiasm never betrays him into a rash phrase. With the steadiness of a machine he plods on—probably, Tupper-like, he writes so many pages a day—and whether he is recounting Queen Victoria's lamentable mismanagement of her son, or that son's attempts—some of them praiseworthy, and others mistaken—to "be of use," or crises in European politics, or great ceremonial events, his pulse never quickens, nor does his natural force abate.

This volume and its successor will without doubt become indispensable works of reference. Nevertheless it is probably true to say that they appear either too soon—or too late. Too soon, because for obvious reasons, political and personal, the biographer cannot write with perfect freedom; too late, because, had the volumes appeared before 1914, we should not have been inclined to suspect that the European war had sharpened the writer's judgment. In one direction only does Sir Sidney forsake his continual calm: when Wilhelm comes on the scene he becomes vigorous and partisan—no words are too hard for the Prince and Kaiser whose jealousy of Edward was notorious. And yet, while we hold no brief for Wilhelm, we wonder whether Sir Sidney will not stimulate reprisals. He is always pointing out the hollowness of the Kaiser's professions of friendship. Inevitably someone will retort by quoting such sentiments from Edward's letters as:

"You have no idea, my dear William, how all of us in England appreciate the loyal friendship which you manifest toward us on every possible occasion. We hope always to look on Germany as our best friend as long as you are at the helm."

Did the Prince of Wales mean this, or did he not? One conclusion, at any rate, most people will draw from this volume—and that is that monarchs and

princes have tried to interfere, if they have not interfered, far too much in the affairs of men and nations.

Many Englishmen who laud the achievements of Garibaldi and Mazzini have the merest acquaintance with the character and accomplishments of the third member of the triumvirate who secured unity for Italy—Cavour. We therefore read with peculiar pleasure Mr. A. J. Whyte's account of Cavour's early years, interspersed as it is with long extracts from Cavour's letters now made available in English for the first time.

Mr. Whyte traces Cavour's chequered career as far as his election as Deputy in 1848. From his youth the Count looked upon himself as a possible minister of state, and during long years of unpopularity with the Court and with the people he acquired a wide knowledge of commerce and agriculture, of social and political life, and of foreign affairs, which was to prove of great value to him and to Italy in later days. It is perhaps safe to say that adversity played a large part in the making of Cavour. He had great gifts, and he had no small idea of them; he seems to have made many easy conquests of the fair sex; alike in business and in politics he was very sure of his own opinions. This self-confidence caused serious losses in speculation on the Paris Bourse and a resulting letter from his father which for acute analysis of character and ruthless laying bare of weakness can rarely have been equalled. This, and his rejection by four different constituencies when a constitution was at last granted to Piedmont, helped to give Cavour a wiser estimate of himself and his abilities. Henceforward caution and skill were united with an exceptional equipment in the knowledge of men and affairs in the service of his people.

Mr. Whyte, who has done his work well, leaves Cavour just as his day is beginning to break. We trust another volume is to follow.

Mr. Bertram Newman has enjoyed writing his "biographical and literary study" of his namesake, the great Cardinal. He has written, not for the theologian but for the plain man, concerning himself especially with Newman "regarded as an English classic." From this angle the volume forms an excellent introduction to the study of one of the most alluring figures of the nineteenth century. It gives us, in brief compass, a well-written account of Newman's life, and a fair summary and a well-balanced estimate of his writings. The essay deserves attention from all interested in Newman and in the Oxford Movement.

The Rev. E. W. Smith's *Robert Moffat* is a stirring story of missionary enterprise told by one specially qualified to tell it. Mr. Smith makes us realise the power of Moffat's character and the extent of his achievements, but he is not blind to the shortcomings of missionary methods in the last century. The article by the Principal of Tigerkloof in this issue might serve as a footnote to Mr. Smith's excellent little book.

EDITOR.

MORE PSYCHOLOGY.

Among the many surprises of the great War the revelation it gave of pathological nervous conditions among all the peoples engaged in it was by no means the least. All the combatants alike failed to understand the psychology of the others, and this failure both prolonged and embittered the conflict. Looking back on it now it is more possible to diagnose these morbid conditions, and this is what Miss Playne seeks to do in *The Neuroses of the Nations* (Allen & Unwin, 16s.). As an attempt at preventive

psychiatry it is both interesting and useful. Miss Playne deals exclusively with Germany and France, but promises another book on psychological conditions in England. Her work is certainly well documented and the picture she draws from contemporary sources of the emotional stress of the war in Germany and France is a very terrible one. It contains, of course, many features which are already quite familiar, but the mass effect is singularly impressive. There is also a good deal that will be new to many English readers, as for instance, that militarism in France was quite as bad in its methods and effects as in Germany. It is now a commonplace that all the nations alike suffered from a war dementia which warped their judgment and destroyed their perspective. The diagnosis of the conditions is comparatively simple, but diagnosis is not cure, though once it can be brought home to the patients it may act as a warning and preventive for the future. This is the aim which the author of this book keeps before us. It should certainly serve as a salutary warning to those who are content simply to restore pre-war conditions and whose only international policy is expressed in terms of armaments. That way the old madness lies. The study of this madness should at least have the effect of re-inforcing the League of Nations or some such policy for the future.

Among the most useful results of recent psychological study is its application to education and especially to the training of younger children. A good example of this is to be found in a recent American book, *The Psychology of the Pre-School Child*, by Baldwin and Stecher (Appleton & Co., 8s. 6d.). It is a very comprehensive psychological and physiological study of children from birth to the age of six, written especially with teachers in mind. The material is mainly derived from a series of observations and experiments carried out for three years in the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, and it describes in elaborate detail the comparative results obtained. The book is commendably scientific in its outlook and method, simply seeking to record and tabulate facts without any preconceived educational theories, and in this respect it is certainly superior to a good many others of the same kind. It is abundantly supplied with statistics and with excellent illustrations and diagrams.

A somewhat similar book, but one rather more generally interesting and less rigidly scientific is *Health and Psychology of the Child*, edited by Dr. E. S. Chesser (Heinemann, 7s. 6d.). Here we have a series of essays by specialists on the various psychological aspects of education up to the time of adolescence. Dr. Eric Prichard writes on "The Psychology of the Infant", Dr. Hadfield on "The Development of Self-consciousness in the Child," Dr. L. Williams on "The Endocrine Glands and Vitamins," Dr. Bruce Porter and Dr. Chesser on "Adolescence." The Rev. J. C. Flower writes on "The Psychological Factors in Religious Development," and from many points of view this is the least satisfactory chapter. Generally speaking, however, the book is full of good things and should be of the greatest service to parents and teachers. It represents a very varied experience, and a careful study and understanding of it should do a great deal to prevent many of the fatal mistakes which are made in the early stages of child life.

Mr. Pym has followed up his *Psychology and the Christian Life* with another volume entitled *More Psychology and the Christian Life*. (S.C.M., 4s. and 2s. 6d.). He deals with the questions of Imagination, Suggestion, the Will and Instinct in relation to Religion. The book is full of wise instruction and may be regarded as a most useful essay in pastoral theology from the psychological point of view. It is a sound and reverent treatment of a very difficult subject and should do a good deal to help many students and teachers to avoid some obvious pitfalls.

A different type of book, but one equally useful in its way, is *The New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets*, by Major Povah (Longmans, cloth, 6s. and 3s. 6d.). The book is recommended by Dr. Crichton Miller and Dr. Matthews, of King's College, London. It is an elaborate study of Hebrew religion and in particular the religion of the Prophets from the standpoint of the New Psychology. It contains much that is very illuminating, but is open to the general criticism that the author is obsessed by certain of the more extreme positions with which the New Psychology has made us familiar, and tends to read certain things into the O.T. rather than strictly to derive them from it. His general discussion of the subject should therefore be received with a considerable amount of caution. This may be said even more emphatically of *Sex and Religion* by Clifford Howard (Williams & Norgate, 6s.). No one questions the part which sex has played in the development of the religions of mankind. It forms one of the strongest evidences of the way in which religion has grown up out of man's instinctive life. No doubt also there are a great many relics of this instinctive stage in the religious life of to-day, not even Christianity being altogether exempt. Mr. Howard's treatment of the subject, however, shows that he is under the influence almost of a sex obsession. He is not content with recognising the obvious facts, but seems to find in the sex impulse the regulative force in religious observances with which it has really little or nothing to do. In a word he has greatly overstated his case.

Everyday Practical Psychology by E. M. Atkinson (Fowler, 2s.) is an excellent little booklet which should serve as a good introduction to the bearing of psychology on life for those who are beginners in the subject.

W. B. SELBIE.

The Code of Deuteronomy. By ADAM C. WELCH, D.D. J. Clarke. 6s. 6d.

Prof. Welch's new study of *Deuteronomy* deserves serious and careful consideration. He does not attempt to twist the data in order to back up any previous conviction, either conservative or radical, nor do the results promise any sort of support to literalist interpretations of the Pentateuch.

Prof. Welch attacks Hölscher's attempt (in a recent issue of the *ZATW*), to show that *Deuteronomy* was the product or residuum, rather than the programme, of the Josianic reform movement, and was compiled mainly by exilic writers in the sixth century. But he is also concerned to overthrow the very generally held position that the main object of the book was to establish a centralized worship in Jerusalem and to do away with all other shrines and places of Yahwe-worship. In other words, *Deuteronomy* is not a code composed by the reformers of 621 as the programme of their movement; it is the law-book of the so-called Northern Kingdom of Ephraim, and consists of a collection of various codes current in that territory, perhaps emanating from several different shrines, which have been worked up into a single Ephraimite compilation and made authoritative by the attribution to the whole of Mosaic authorship. As to the date or dates of origin, Prof. Welch inclines to favour the early days of the kings for many of the laws, though he allows a good deal of margin here and would put some of the regulations even earlier.

He points out very forcibly that if we remove the passage 12¹⁻⁷ from the book there is really nothing which unmistakably commands centralisation of worship at Jerusalem. This passage he thinks may well be an exilic or post-exilic interpolation, designed to bring *Deuteronomy* into line with the ideals of the P. school. In all the other regulations the Hebrew word *māqōm*, which means holy place or sanctuary, may quite well refer to any or

the recognised Yahwe shrines in Ephraimite territory. As against the current centralisation theory, he asks pertinently why the long historical introduction to the book has nothing to say about this, and points to the inclusion of the curious passage *Deuteronomy* 27¹⁻⁸ in which Joshua is commanded to set up a Yahwe-altar on Mount Ebal (where the Samaritan and some Greek MSS. significantly read *Gerizim*). The aim of most of the regulations included in the book, is, Prof. Welch thinks, not the legalising of one central shrine, but simply the promotion of Yahwism as opposed to the worship of the Canaanite *ba'alim*. Consequently these pre-date the theological monotheism which went with the centralizing teaching of the exilic schools; and not only so, but, according to our author, they also pre-date the ethical Yahwism of the great eighth century prophets. For these prophets were largely indifferent to the cultus, even where they regarded it as legitimate; at all events, the proper performance of ritual was to them a matter of small moment compared with ethical conduct in social relations. On the other hand, the Deuteronomic corpus is greatly concerned about correct ritual, with which national prosperity is of course involved; above all it continually lays stress on the fact that all Israelite ritual is and must be Yahwist in character, and that it is the priests of Yahwe, the Levitical priesthood, who are the natural depositories of knowledge as to the ritual and social customs—for these are not categorically distinguished in *Deuteronomy*—which Yahwe prescribes. Thus most of the laws seem to come from a period when the cult of Yahwe was connected with nationalist rather than with ethical, much less theological, ideas and ideals. On these grounds Prof. Welch would carry back most of the laws to a period between that of the judges and that of the early kings, and he suggests that the patent fact that this book, though it found a place in the final edition of the Pentateuch, remains there as a sort of foreign body, an arrested growth, which even contradicts much in the other codes, is to be explained by supposing that it was, in its final form, the distinctively Ephraimite code, as distinguished from that of Jerusalem, which we know in a late exilic redaction as *Leviticus*; the former represents therefore an arrested development, whilst the latter, as the code of the community which eventually become principal, if not sole, heir of the traditions of Israel, represents in its various additions and adjustments the true line of continuous jurisprudential progress.

It will be seen that Prof. Welch's book raises many interesting points which cannot be ignored. Personally we are almost sure that he is on the right track in suggesting that *Deuteronomy* is a compilation of laws gathered from, probably, a number of different shrines in Ephraimite territory, that many of them may be a good deal earlier than the seventh, or even than the eighth, century in origin, and that they show little trace of the ethical *motif* which we are accustomed to attribute to the best Yahwism of these two periods. In particular the law respecting the conditions of kingship is certainly capable of interpretation in Prof. Welch's sense as an attempt to claim Mosaic authority for the dynasties of Ephraim, even without the excision of 17^{ab}, to which he inclines.

There seems to be little difficulty in interpreting *māqôm* as is done here, especially when we remember that it is the usual term, in its corresponding Arabic form, for the hill-top shrines common in Palestine to-day. We cannot agree, however, that many or most of the shrines in question were Israelite in origin. No doubt almost all of them were *urali*, going back perhaps even before the first Semitic period, i.e., to the non-Canaanite neolithic inhabitants of the country. Nor are we sure that the author always uses his sources with complete care from the critical point of view. *Ezekiel* 45 cannot be used absolutely to prove pre-exilic custom, since it is an early draft from the

P. school and not by Ezekiel (p. 68). Neither can 1 *Sam.* 10²⁵ be employed as contemporary evidence (p. 94), because it represents the academic view of what *ought* to have happened, and must be centuries later than the event described.

Prof. Welch has not succeeded in showing that the programme of the Josianic reform had nothing to do with any of the contents of *Deuteronomy*. The accepted theory rests on the fact that six distinct reforms mentioned and carried out by Josiah and his advisers are advocated in various parts of our book. It would thus be necessary to invalidate the account preserved in 2 *Kings* 23 in order to disprove this theory completely. The most probable explanation of the facts is that a good many of the laws in our book were contained in that produced by the Josianic reformers, but that the absolute distinction postulated here between Ephraim and Judah and their separate codes did not exist any longer in Josiah's time—probably it never had existed as far as the codes were concerned—because the Assyrians had withdrawn from Ephraim (most likely also from Galilee) some time before 621-0, and thus Josiah, far from ruling only over little more than the territory immediately surrounding Jerusalem, was factual ruler of the whole country—at least as far north as Esdraelon. This corresponds to the new evidence of the Gadd tablet, as well as to that of 2 *Kings* 23^{19ff}, 23⁴⁰, and *Jeremiah* 41: none of the latter data having ever been seriously disputed. The country was again united under Josiah and there is no reason why his priestly coadjutors perhaps some of them northerners, should not have included in their programme elements derived originally from shrines in Ephraimite territory. The actual nature of the so-called centralizing carried out by the Josianic reformers is very uncertain. It may well have been the calf-worship and other foreign practices, rather the mere existence of multiple shrines, to which they objected. Quite possibly they Judaized the ritual rather than centralized it. That many of the laws in *Deuteronomy* were of Ephraimite provenance and antedate Josiah's period by centuries, is more than probable. That the code, or even its kernel, as we have it, was an exclusively Ephraimite corpus is surely most *unlikely*, in spite of the very generally admitted fact that during the twelfth and eleventh centuries the covenant faith of Yahwe was far stronger in Ephraim, amongst the Joseph tribes, than in the south, amongst the half Arab Judean clans who very likely then knew little of Moses, or of Joshua for a considerable period after their settlement in Palestine.

The obvious difference between *Deuteronomy* and the P. collections of laws is probably to be accounted for, not by attempting to show that the first was Ephraimite whilst the others are Judean, but on quite other grounds. It is much more likely that whilst the P. collections represent, as we know to be the case, the work of Babylonian scholars during the exile, *Deuteronomy* never left Palestine, and thus the later introductions and additions may well have been added by members of that Palestinian school which later developed into the rival Samaritan sect. Thus the Ephraimite character of much of the book, and particularly the insertion of 27¹⁻⁸, would be explained in a manner at once simple and natural.

J. P. NAISH.

Arabs in Tent and Town. By A. GOODRICH-FREER (MRS. H. H. SPOER). Seeley, Service. 21s.

Mrs. Spoer is a shrewd and careful observer, and her latest book contains many good things. She writes in a chatty and pleasant manner, without any claim to be a Doughty or a Burton. The Biblical student will require to use this book with due care, and must not regard it as in any sense a scientific study, the author's method being fragmentary and journalistic, and often sadly lacking both in literary style and in scholarly accuracy.

It is a pity that a work conveying so much that is illuminating should be marred by a petulant prejudice, almost amounting to an obsession, against the work of Protestant missions. This disagreeable bias seems to be part of that unreal romanticism which afflicts so many writers and makes them deplore the presence in the East of anything invented since the middle ages—such as petrol tins and enamelled bowls, railways and telegraphic wires. It is strange that those whose very presence in the Orient is due to their relatives' positions as representatives of Western diplomacy or commerce should be so inconsistent as to deplore that interpenetration of East and West of which those relatives are such active agents. Mrs. Spoer and her like seem to forget that the clash of Occident and Orient is much older than the Christian era—older far than Alexander in all probability. We imagine that the cultured Grecian dames of the Seleucid merchants and diplomats wrote similar memoirs deploring the introduction of the Hellenist πέτασος and χλαμὺς into the Jerusalem of Maccabæan times! O tempora!

Mrs. Spoer's transliteration of Arabic phrases will puzzle students of classical Arabic. She is, of course, rendering sayings from the Palestinian spoken dialect, but even so, and taking due note of what is said in the preface, a little more consistency would seem desirable unless the author wishes us to infer that she is herself ignorant of the classical language, and has merely picked up the vernacular by ear. Her extraordinary spellings and entire disregard of certain obvious phonetic distinctions certainly point to this explanation.

On the other hand, there is much of great interest in the book, as for example the story of the feud between Qaisites and Yemenites still kept up in the villages of el-Khudr, Urtas, Hebron and Ramlah, and which goes back, as students of Muhammadan history know, beyond the origins of Islam itself. The story of the man who, after several unsuccessful marriages, was normally wedded to a cow before making another attempt, can of course be paralleled in other parts of the world. In S. India the same custom is observed with a kadali tree in place of the cow, before celebrating a third marriage. In like manner the improvised song with a chanted chorus is familiar amongst many primitive peoples, e.g., in West Africa. The rain-making story concerning Rabbi Nicodemus is also quoted by Dr. Büchler in his recent book *Jewish-Palestinian Piety*.

There are many interesting details about animals, plants, and social usages which throw a good deal of light on various Biblical passages.

J. P. NAISH.

Old Testament Legends; from a Greek poem by Georgios Chumnos. Edited and translated by F. H. MARSHALL. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.

Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty. By G. R. DRIVER, M.A. (Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts. Vol. III.) Oxford University Press. 10s.

Chumnos wrote about 1500 and his poem is a good example of medieval Greek verse. It is mentioned in Krumbacher's *Gesch. der byzant. Litt.*, but none of it had previously been printed. Mr. Marshall has given us 14 pp. of the Greek text with an introduction, a few notes, and a short glossary of the less known words. He has also reproduced twenty-two full pages of the delightful illustrations which crowd the MS. Not only those who are interested, directly or indirectly, in Byzantine Greek, but also students of the Renaissance culture, will find this little book valuable. It throws much light both on the actual language spoken by the Greek refugees who taught the Italians of the Medici period, and on the angle from which the Renaissance people viewed the O.T. stories.

Mr. Driver has added to his already considerable reputation as an Assyriologist by the preparation of this volume, which contains transliteration and translations of eighty-one letters from the Weld-Blundell collection of tablets in the Ashmolean, and of 151 others selected from texts published in America in 1917 by Dr. H. F. Lutz, as well as transcriptions of the former. Similar collections of other letters from the same period—that of Hammurabi—had been published from British Museum material by the late Dr. L. V. King, and from material in the Louvre by M. Thureau-Dangin. Several of the letters here translated were used by Mr. Campbell Thompson in writing his brilliant and already famous chapter, *The Golden Age of Hammurabi*, in the *Camb. Anc. Hist.* We notice in particular No. 6 in the first collection and No. 81 in the second, as being quoted there. There is much interesting matter in the various letters, in particular that relating to agricultural affairs, land-tenure, etc.; some of the crops most frequently mentioned here especially *suluppu*, dates, and *halluru*, beans, are unknown to us from the O.T., though the second word occurs in the Aram. Pap. as a small monetary unit.

J. P. NAISH.

Jesus in the First Gospel. By J. ALEXANDER FINDLAY, M.A. Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.

Of the four gospels that bearing the name of Matthew has in some way been overshadowed by the others. The Fourth Gospel, of course, stands in a class by itself; that which bears the name of Luke is loved as "the most beautiful book in the world"; Mark's gospel appeals by its antiquity and its vivid "cartoons." But it is *Matthew* that stands first in the canon, and that not undeservedly. The commentaries of Dr. McNeile and Prof. B. have done much to focus attention once more upon it, and now Prof. Findlay—following up his earlier studies, *Jesus as they saw Him* and *The Realism of Jesus*—attempts "to bring out some of the aesthetic beauty that a commentary in the technical sense is apt to hide." The attempt must fairly be said to have been successful. What Prof. Findlay did in a previous volume for the Sermon on the Mount, he has here done for the rest of the Gospel. Perhaps the nearest parallel to this study, and one of the best ways of describing it, is as an up-to-date volume of the Expositor's Bible. Our expositor is no mere homilist; every page reveals the scholar and thinker who knows what others have done in his subject (even down to Strack and Billerbeck), and is competent to express wise and helpful judgment of his own. The architecture of the Gospel is clearly delineated, but never obtruded. Our author has the gift of humour, as when he notes that Matthew's feast with its "lavish display of good cheer" was "very tantalising to virtuously hungry people on a fast day," or interprets the saying about serpents and doves into "this exhilarating paradox—'you are to be as clever as the devil and as innocent as God's Spirit.'" He had apparently not at the time of writing come across Violet's helpful suggestion on the awkward incident of the cursing of the fig-tree. It only remains to be said that the book is loyal to its title: every chapter and every paragraph has for its keynote Jesus, whether as Teacher, Captain-Saviour, Wisdom and Word of God, Founder of the new Israel, or Judge, Victim, and Redeemer of the world. And there is a well-spring of suggestions from first to last. A prefatory note indicates that in some degree the book is an act of filial piety, and we have confidence that the son's work on the Gospels in the current generation will be as fruitful and honoured as that wrought by his father on the Epistles.

A. J. GRIEVE.

Hermetica : The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which contain Religious or Philosophical Teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, edited with English Translation and Notes, by Walter Scott. Clarendon Press. Vol. I : Introduction, Texts and Translations. 30s.

The sudden death of Walter Scott in the midst of the publication of his great work is a severe loss to learning. It is greatly to be hoped, and indeed there is good reason to believe, that the remaining volumes are in a condition for publication. No more important work in the field of ancient religion has been published in this country in recent years, nor any work which more admirably displays the finest qualities associated, as we like to think, with British scholarship, combined with an industry and accuracy *plus quam Teutonica*.

The Hermetic Writings have had a curious history. Once revered as the undoubted work of the primitive sage Hermes Trismegistus, "*contemporaneus Moysi*," as the Siena mosaic reproduced in the frontispiece of this edition has it, they lost their prestige when advancing knowledge of antiquity relegated this Hermes to the limbo of mythology. Neglected by scholars almost in proportion to their former excessive pretensions, they fell largely into the hands of religious cranks, until the recent revival of interest in the byways of ancient thought brought them forward afresh. We have hitherto had no critical edition of the texts, and the poor production of Parthey, *Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander* (Berlin, 1854) has had to serve our turn in default of anything better. The pioneer in recent investigations was Reitzenstein, to whom we owe the attempt to form a critical text of some few of the documents. And indeed it is probably to Reitzenstein's learned but incredibly confused books that most of us owe what little we know about the literature. Scott generously acknowledges his own debt to his predecessor, but it is not too much to say that much of Reitzenstein is antiquated by the superior scholarship of the English editor.

The present volume contains the critical text, restored from the very corrupt MSS, as the result of many years of unremitting labour, and a translation. To those accustomed to critical texts of ordinary classical works the amount of emendation which the editor has allowed himself will be somewhat startling, but the case demanded drastic treatment, and Scott had so soaked himself in the literature that he could afford to take large liberties, with a sureness of instinct that we are bound to respect. The translation is of necessity at times boldly free, but it succeeds in giving us a readable and intelligible version of documents which are often extremely obscure.

For the details of criticism of the several documents we must wait for subsequent volumes ; but here Scott has told us enough to place the literature in its true setting and its true light. It is the product of religious thinkers in Egypt, whose thought was mainly moulded by a Stoicizing Platonism, with some slight collateral influence from Jewish and other sources. The Egyptian element in their works is mainly to be found in the type of mystical religious experience which underlies the thought, rather than in any definitely Egyptian ideas. They wrote under the Roman Empire. None of the writings can be dated before 100 A.D., and most of them belong to the third century. Christian influence Scott judges to be almost entirely absent. But did the *Hermetica* influence Christianity ? Some writers have lately been inclined to trace in the Hermetic literature the antecedents of almost everything that has been thought originally Christian. With Scott's dating direct influence upon the N.T. is practically excluded, though the possibility remains that ideas of this kind, even though at a less developed stage, may have been present in the thought-world of the apostolic age. On

the general question, Scott says, very sensibly, "It is not to be supposed that the Christian Church took over this or that theological dogma ready made from the Hermetists, or from any other pagans. And yet the Christian Church took over a great deal; for it took over the men themselves. . . . And in that sense it might be said that in the *Hermetica* we get a glimpse into one of the many workshops in which Christianity was fashioned."

Scott's conclusions are of course strongly opposed to the views of many other writers. Professor Flinders Petrie, for example, has already taken up cudgels in the press in defence of his published opinion that these writings represent very early Egyptian religious thought, prior to Plato. There will doubtless be much discussion yet. But we believe that when Scott's full evidence and arguments are before the world it will be very difficult indeed to upset his main positions, and he will be found to have established beyond cavil the broad lines of a settlement of an ancient and long disputed problem.

C. H. DODD.

Jesus and the Greeks: or, Early Christianity in the Tideway of Hellenism. By WILLIAM FAIRWEATHER, M.A., D.D. T. and T. Clark. 12s.

We badly want a book which will give to non-specialist readers a clear conception of the Hellenistic background of the N.T. in a comprehensive way—something fuller than Angus's *Environment of Early Christianity*, and more on the scale of Wendland's *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (a translator of Wendland would be a public benefactor). Dr. Fairweather has aimed at giving us something of the kind. If it is not quite the book we have been waiting for it contains a good deal of useful and interesting information which English readers will not readily find put together so conveniently elsewhere. It begins with an adequate account of the outward history of the Hellenistic period—a period so strangely neglected in our traditional schemes of historical study—and then attempts a broad survey of the thought and piety of the Hellenistic world, and relates the N.T. to this background, concluding with a chapter on The Essential Independence of Christianity. The treatment is rather unequal. Certain aspects of Hellenistic thought are well presented—notably the Alexandrian philosophy of Philo. The chapters on Philo are, in fact, in some ways the best part of the book, and were evidently written with a well justified enthusiasm for this really great religious teacher. In some other chapters there is an undeniable effect of scrappiness and superficiality—difficult, no doubt, to avoid when so large an area is being covered. The account of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies is curiously vague, and one wonders what impression of these important systems of thought will be left on the mind of a reader who knows nothing more about them. In illustrating the widespread influence of Hellenism the writer is to be praised for the use he has made of recent explorations in Central Asia by Marc-Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin. He would have been well-advised to make more use of the copious archæological material now easily available. Dr. Fairweather's treatment of the Hellenistic Greek language is a weak spot in his book. It seems doubtful if he has ever formed any clear notion of what the *Koiné* was. His account of its origin on pp. 39-40, repeated more or less on p. 270, is not only entirely inadequate but, if it means what it appears to mean, definitely wrong. In conclusion, one cannot refrain from suggesting that it is high time scholars ceased to write of the Germans in the tone of a *Daily Mail* leading article in War time (as on pp. 81 and 164).

C. H. DODD.

A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by GEORGE HENRY LIDDELL and ROBERT SCOTT. A new edition, revised and augmented throughout by HENRY STUART JONES, with the assistance of RODERICK MCKENZIE, and with the co-operation of many scholars. Part I.: A—'Αποβαίνω. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1925. Price ros. 6d. net per part; subscription price for the complete work in ten parts, £4 4s. net.

If there be any department of study in which Great Britain holds an absolute pre-eminence, it is that of ancient Greek; and the new edition of Liddell and Scott, of which the publication has just begun, ought to ensure a continuance of that pre-eminence. The original Liddell and Scott, published in 1843, reached an eighth edition in 1897, and has been the indispensable companion of all students of Greek in English-speaking countries for nearly three generations. But the last thirty-five years have seen most valuable accessions to the ancient literary and other material on which such a book must be based, and the need for a new work, in which account should be taken of these, is imperative. The preparation of this new edition, entrusted to the competent hands of Prof. Stuart Jones and Mr. McKenzie, has involved vast labour, care and thought. Having had the first part in constant use since its publication, I find it difficult to speak of it in moderate terms, as I have failed to detect a single flaw in it. The arrangement and statement of forms, meanings and citations are all that could be desired, and the typographical work is beyond praise. The language of the Old and New Testaments is fully recorded. It is worth while making a real sacrifice to acquire this consummate work. Under present conditions the price at which it is issued could not have been less.

A. SOUTER.

The Chaitanya Movement. By M. T. KENNEDY, M.A. Association Press, (Y.M.C.A.); Calcutta and Oxford Univ. Press. 6s.

The Conference of the Birds. By R. P. MASANI, M.A. Oxford Univ. Press. 6s.

Islām and Africa. By GODFREY DALE. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

The Luminous Religion. By C. E. COULING. Carey Press. 1s.

The Chaitanya Movement is the latest volume in *The Religious Life of India* series initiated by Dr. Farquhar, which, when completed, will give an almost complete account of the various aspects of contemporary Hinduism. Mr. Kennedy, who is the Warden of the Y.M.C.A. Students' Hostel at Calcutta, has accomplished successfully a very difficult task. The erotic mysticism he has here to describe is easier to condemn than to understand. Yet modern India is in no mood to brook any criticism of Indian things from Western writers, and is quick to discover prejudice and bias in even the most dispassionate account of the less attractive aspects of Indian religion. The Hinduism which this book presents is not the Hinduism of the philosophers, but the Hinduism of the popular Vaishnavism of Bengal. The founder of this movement, Chaitanya, was born towards the end of the fifteenth century. When twenty-one years of age, and already twice married, he experienced a great conversion so that, renouncing home and every comfort, he spent his time weeping and crying out, "Oh, God, do not forsake me." His vivid emotion and the charm of his personality won him many converts, and the movement he founded is still an important element in the popular religion of Bengal. It is a love-mysticism in which the soul's relationship to God is expressed in terms of sex. We are familiar in Christian mysticism with the idea of the soul as the bride of Christ. Eckhart, indeed, said that "Woman

is the soul's noblest name," but, morbid and pathological as Christian mysticism has sometimes been, at least it has gathered around the holy and historic figure of Jesus Christ, and thus some of the worst excesses of eroticism have been avoided. But in this movement the mystic tries to take the place of Rādhā, Krishna's paramour, whilst the lewd stories of Krishna's dalliance with the shepherd girls are recited as the supreme records of his love. In its noblest representatives this mysticism has been pure as well as fervid, but this sex symbolism has led to much corruption, and its most impassioned hymns, if read in their natural sense, are songs of sensuality and lust. Krishna, as this cult conceives him, is utterly unworthy of the devotion he receives. The movement is a proof, if proof be needed, that it is not enough to love God; we must first know what God is. Yet as Mr. Kennedy remarks, "If only the loyalties of this passionate bhakti could be joined to the highest that men have ever known of God, how great would be the consummation! What might not be the result could these powers be dedicated to Christ and all the wealth of India's bhakti learn to lavish itself upon Him as the Supremely Adorable?"

We would recommend this wise, sympathetic and discriminating book to all students of religion, and to all who are ready to learn what popular Hinduism still is.

In *The Conference of the Birds*, Mr. Masani gives us an abbreviated version of the famous Sūfi allegory of the Persian poet, Farid-ud-din Attār, who lived in the twelfth century of our era. The quest of the soul for God is depicted under the figure of birds who, with the Hoopee as leader, seek the King Bird, the Simurg, who represents the Supreme Being. Passing through the Valleys of Detachment, Unity, Stupefaction, Poverty and Annihilation, the birds that survive the hardships of the way reach at length the King's Court, "weary and worn," "without feathers," without hair, full of pain and agony. There they lose themselves for ever in the Simurg as the shade vanishes in the sun, so that "neither the traveller remained, nor the guide, nor the path. Finding the Simurg, they found themselves and the riddle of *I and Thou* was solved." Mr. Masani prefixes to his translation a brief sketch of the development of Persian mysticism, which inevitably suffers by comparison with Dr. Nicholson's fascinating introductions to Sūfism, *The Mystics of Islām* and *The Idea of Personality in Sūfism*. And the allegory he translates is less interesting than the Sūfi poems which Mr. Whinfield and Dr. Nicholson have made accessible to us in their delightful English versions. But the book is a useful addition to the material already available in English for the study of the Sūfi movement, which to many Western readers is the most attractive phase of Islāmic religion.

Islām and Africa is not, as the title would suggest, an account of Islām in Africa, but an introduction to the study of Islām written for African Christians and their European leaders. It is a useful compendium, simply and clearly written, of the Islām, not of the Qurān alone, but of the Traditions. It would make an admirable introduction to the study of Islām by English readers and would serve to correct the views on Islām held by many who know Islām only through the Qurān, or through the claims which are widely made for it in England to-day. Where Muhammad is idealised and Christ depreciated, as in the ingenious propaganda of the Neo-Islām of the movement which gathers round the Woking Mosque, it is right that the sordid facts of Muhammad's life should be known and stated. But we doubt if a book which begins almost at once to narrate the Prophet's sexual excesses, and the assassinations he condoned or ordered, is well suited for African Christians. Attacks on Muhammad's character, however justified, lead only to increased bitterness and estrangement. You can score off a person

or you can win him, but it is of little use to try to do both at the same time. The Church has no harder task than where Christianity and Islām are in contact. We cannot but feel that the General Conference of Christian Workers among Moslems held at Jerusalem last year was right when it resolved that "In the presentation of our message we must avoid all negative and unfruitful controversy, and rely on the positive preaching of Christ crucified, and the implications of His Cross, supporting our appeal to the Moslem heart by the testimony of our own personal experience."

The Luminous Religion is a reprint of two articles which appeared in *The Chinese Recorder* of last year. It gives an account of Nestorian Christianity in China and a translation of the inscriptions on the famous Nestorian tablet. There are few darker blots on the Ancient Church than its treatment of Nestorius, and in no part of Christian History has recent research compelled so drastic a revision of conventional views. It is unfortunate that the account this little book gives of the origin of Nestorianism was not supervised by some one in touch with modern scholarship, for its statements can scarcely be accepted as they stand. The account given of Nestorianism in China is, however, full of interest, and it should be useful for many readers to have in this cheap and attractive form the translation by Prof. Saeki of the inscriptions on the Nestorian stone.

SYDNEY CAVE.

Science and Creation : The Christian Interpretation. By CHARLES F. D'ARCY, D.D. Longmans. 3s. 6d.

The central idea of this reasonable book is that the cosmic Becoming, continued into organic and human evolution, may be religiously interpreted as a never-ceasing work of God. The keynote is in the saying recorded by St. John : "My Father worketh even until now and I work." The author discloses the advance in significance that is discernible in the sublime process ; and in view of much that seems, to us looking back, like preparation, he is impressed not only by progress but by pervading purpose. Thus he points out that characteristics which subsequently become human prerogatives have their foundations laid long before they begin in any appreciable way to justify themselves. Yet one must remember that it is very difficult to prove that a new departure of prospective value has not some immediate utility. Moreover, the idea of "preparation" is not in the strict sense a scientific one. But this does not prove that it is not true.

Archbishop D'Arcy is a very careful writer, but we doubt whether it is accurate to say that "the whole tendency of recent scientific discovery is in favour of the mechanistic view of the processes of life and against the Vitalists who think it necessary to postulate a specific Life-Force." For there are, at any rate, some well-known physiologists and biologists who would decline to be caught on either horn of this old dilemma. They do not postulate a specific "vital force," yet they do not find that chemical and physical formulæ are adequate for the description of the facts of life.

The author's clue in trying to understand the course of evolution is the belief that a Supreme Universal Intelligence permeates and controls the whole. If this is meant as a religious interpretation of an autonomous process we should reverently agree ; if it means that there is immediate guidance, comparable in form to a man's guidance of a sailing ship, we think it is prematurely interfering with the end of science, which is naturalistic description. It is true that Archbishop D'Arcy assures his readers that he is not suggesting that a supernatural element should be brought in to solve a scientific problem. But the point is this. If the concept of a Supreme Intelligence is used as a transcendental interpretation, to many minds

compelling when we try to see life whole, then science has nothing to say. But if the Supreme Intelligence is thought of as doing more than make things make themselves, then, as it seems to us, we are back in a dualism worse than that of the vitalist.

We cannot see any present-day point in emphasising "the impossibility of an accidental production of so complicated an organ as the eye," for no competent living biologist thinks of evolution as merely a series of happy accidents. But there are not many of these crumpled rose-leaves to interrupt our enjoyment of this wise book. The "argument", so to speak, from the Beauty of Nature to its spiritual significance is very refreshing.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

The Dogma of Evolution. By LOUIS TRENCHARD MORE, Professor of Physics, University of Cincinnati. Princeton and Oxford Univ. Presses. 16s.

"The purpose of this book is not to discuss the validity of evolution as a scientific biological theory but rather to trace the effects of its application to the broader fields of social life and religion." But, as a matter of fact, the book is largely devoted to a criticism of the evolutionist teaching that is habitual among biologists. The author speaks of "those who confidently subscribe to the dogma of evolution as the explanation of life, of society, and of religion," but this is putting up a man of straw. The evolution idea is not regarded by any competent biologist as an "explanation"; it is merely a descriptive formula of the way in which things have come to be as they are. It is a modal formulation, that is all, telling us that the present is the child of the past and the parent of the future. We can no longer think of any other mode in which organisms could have come to be as they are. The theory also implies that it is incumbent on students of science to work out a naturalistic *description* of this sublime process of Becoming. To suggest, as many do, that nothing but a naturalistic *interpretation* is possible is going beyond the scope of science altogether. The evolutionist way of looking at things is justified by its children, and it has a firmer grip of the minds of intellectual combatants than it ever had before.

But when biologists pass from the fact of evolution to an inquiry into the possible factors, they have to confess great uncertainty. The data have increased greatly since Darwin's day, and it is plain that a causal theory is more difficult than the pioneers thought. It seems to us that Professor More uses the admissions of ignorance and hesitancy made by really big men like Bateson in such a way as to suggest to his readers that the foundations of evolutionist teaching have been sapped. This is not a good way of arguing. Professor More suggests in so many words that biologists are using the ideas and methods of their predecessors which have been shown to be fundamentally wrong. This is not the case, for as regards methods biologists endeavour, as in them lies, to be loyal to those of all scientific inquiry, and as to ideas there are a good many new ones since Darwin's day. The evolution theory (in the wide sense of aetiology) would be self-condemned if it were not evolving.

There are interesting chapters on The Greek Attitude towards Science, The Mediæval Attitude towards Science, and the development of Palæontology. In connexion with Lamarck it is rightly said that his particular aetiology has often been misunderstood; but there has been no excuse for this since Dr. E. S. Russell's *Form and Function* (1916) which gives an entirely luminous exposition of what Lamarck was really after. In reference to the reluctance of biologists to accept the doctrine of the transmission of acquired modifications, Professor More suggests that this "does not rest so much

on the lack of experimental verification as on the fact that Lamarck's cause of variation is fundamentally vitalistic in so far as it acknowledges the influence of the will or desire. To admit such a cause is contrary to scientific and to mechanistic monism." We protest that this is a very wrong sort of thing to say. It is a charge of scientific breach of faith ; it suggests that biologists discount the facts when they are against a pet scientific or philosophical theory. It is given to few to be superior to all prejudice, but we believe that the standard of intellectual honesty is as high among biologists as among other men of science.

The chapter on Darwin contains some interesting statements : " Darwin was, by nature, unable to deal with theoretical and philosophical questions, to maintain an extended argument, or to see the larger conclusions to which it pointed." Well, well ! The chapter also contains (p. 197) the too common travesty of Darwin's picture of the struggle for existence and Nature's process of sifting.

The strong chapter on " Life as Mechanism " is very valuable, especially as coming from an expert in physics, but we fail to see how the biological theories of evolution are affected, except in one way, by the author's clever puncturing of those physiological theories that pretend to give a full account of life in terms of matter and motion. The one relevancy that leaps to our eye is this. If mechanistic physiology is inadequate then there is room left for those theories of evolution that admit " mind " as a factor. Here, and for most of the rest of the book, we heartily agree with Professor More, and admire his workmanship, except that we think that he has missed entirely " the Gospel of Evolutionism." We agree with him in protesting against what we venture to call " false biologism," that is to say, straining biological formulæ in the attempt to make them cover the supreme facts of the kingdom of man. We agree with him in being unconvinced by modern attempts to psychologise away or anthropologise away religion. We agree also that it is a confusion of thought when the biologist calls eugenics or any similar scientific ideal his " religion." Yet we disagree with Professor More profoundly, first because we cannot listen to any identification of our biological evolutionism with any philosophical doctrine whatever, whether good, bad, or indifferent ; second, because we think that atiology is in a much healthier state than Professor More's lectures would lead his readers to suppose ; and third, because we are convinced that the evolutionist's picture of Nature has an enriching vision for Man—not merely as organism, but as a citizen and as a religious being. Professor More is an evolutionist himself, but his desire to keep the doctrine in its place has hidden from him its true inwardness. It seems to us that the Introduction betrays prejudice, but we have a good stock ourselves. It seems to us that the treatment of Darwin is also prejudiced, but the chapter has some usefully painful thrusts at biologists who do not discipline themselves in resolute thinking. Most of the second half of the book is masterly ; its only lack is a more sympathetic understanding of evolution.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

The Geneva Protocol. By P. J. NOEL BAKER. P. S. King. 9s.

The League, the Protocol and the Empire. By ROTH WILLIAMS. Allen & Unwin. 5s.

Professor Noel Baker has given us a fair and reasoned analysis of the Protocol. He has been more concerned to explain than to defend or to advocate. It is to be hoped that his book will secure an unprejudiced and attentive reading.

He makes it clear that the Protocol was not, as has been alleged, hastily prepared. It was the outcome of five years of solid work, and, as he believes, their inevitable consummation. Despite the rough handling it has received at the hands of our own Government, it is not "dead" but—like the League of Nations itself—will not only survive but will receive more and more attention at the hands of peace-loving men and nations.

The same is not altogether true of the Benes-Politis Report which accompanied it, and which has, on some points of particular importance to the British Empire, confused the issue. This Report was admittedly prepared with amazing speed, and was hastily "noticed" by the Assembly of the League. A pardonable enthusiasm at the Fifth Assembly doubtless sowed the seeds of future trouble. But the Protocol is bigger than the Report and demands the primary place in our consideration.

If the Report was hasty, so also was the discussion which was based too largely upon it rather than upon the Protocol itself. And so also was the drastic action of the British Government in March last at Geneva. It was not to be expected that so revolutionary a change in our national habits as the acceptance of the Protocol would involve could be agreed to without much hesitation and without some amendments.

Professor Baker has not buried the difficulties involved in the proposal, but has given them reasoned consideration. He has even suggested some improvements, notably to Article 10, which attempts to define what is meant by "aggression," and—like its corresponding number in the Covenant of the League of Nations itself—will doubtless prove to be a storm-centre.

The book is temperate in tone and spirit. It is not an attempt to rush the Protocol through. Had there been such an attempt, subsequent happenings would have given it sufficient pause. Professor Baker ends on the note with which the Benes-Politis Report concludes: "There can be no arbitration or security without disarmament, nor can there be disarmament without arbitration and security." This is a conclusion at which multitudes of thoughtful people have also arrived.

There are those who think that the work of the Fifth Assembly was too ambitious. It is reasonable to dread going too fast, though in all conscience, the militarization of the world travels very fast, and while the tortoise may conceivably outstrip the hare, it is only on condition that the hare sleeps—and, so far, militarization shows little signs of somnolence. In this case it is the tortoise that is sleepy.

There is much more in the Protocol upon which agreement should be possible than upon which disagreement is inevitable. This book makes it impossible merely to wash one's hands of it. It is difficult to see how, given the Covenant we have subscribed, we can stop short of the Protocol.

At any rate, one could scarcely venture to oppose it who has not mastered this book of Professor Baker's. Not its least useful feature is the List of Ten Annexes, giving the text of the Covenant of the League and of the Protocol with various resolutions adopted by the League at different times.

Mr. Williams is a firm believer in the Protocol, as he is in the League of Nations. He is also persuaded that upon the British Commonwealth rests, for weal or woe, the obligation of world leadership. The book was published before the British Foreign Secretary made that fateful speech at Geneva on March 12th which was everywhere declared to have "killed the Protocol."

Mr. Williams demonstrates that at that date the world waited for a pronouncement from Great Britain. Seventeen States had signed the Protocol. Japan had made it clear that she would follow the lead of Great Britain. Signor Mussolini had announced that he would sign if all the other Great

Powers in the League did, while for Germany also the attitude of Great Britain would be decisive. The same was also true of the ex-neutrals.

From this point of view the author puts in an appeal for the Protocol. He believes in it, but not to the point of asserting its infallibility. In particular, he takes some exception to portions of the Benes-Politis Report, which he thinks has over-emphasised the system of "sanctions," since both the distinguished rapporteurs belong to the school which regard them as utterly essential to security. He takes pains to demonstrate the absurdity of the claim that, in ratifying the Protocol, Great Britain would have handed over to the Council of the League as an "outside" body the right to order the use of "sanctions," pointing out that this step cannot be taken except by a unanimous decision of the Council, and that the representative of Great Britain (who would undoubtedly act upon instructions from the Cabinet) would exercise a decisive influence for or against such a step. Further, "sanctions" are not to be employed—as the *Round Table* of December last stated—"against any state which rejects the arbitral decision", but only if that State aggravates its refusal by resorting to war.

Mr. Williams believes that the Dominions are unduly excited over the so-called "Japanese Amendment." He points out that under International Law immigration is unalterably regarded as a domestic question, and that Japan as rigorously claims the right to exclude Chinese labour as Australia and New Zealand to exclude Asiatics. All that the "Japanese Amendment" secures is the possibility of "a diplomatic airing" being given to a question which may threaten the peace of the world.

He has no hope of America coming into the League or signing the Protocol, certainly not during the tenure of the present administration. She is not unfriendly, but is wedded to the existing policy of isolation. She will no doubt continue to co-operate for specific purposes and on specific occasions. She will even join the World Court, though without recognising its compulsory jurisdiction. An English-speaking Alliance is impossible even if it were desirable. Europe will need to solve her own difficulties without waiting for a lead from the United States.

Yet Britain and the Republic of the West have many things in common, and usually find themselves espousing the same causes and advocating the same points of view when working side by side with other nations for world-purposes. To water down the League is not the way to make stronger the sentiment of good fellowship between these two countries. President Coolidge has said on America's behalf that she will "help those who help themselves." The United States Government is, however, already co-operating with the League, and the President has repeatedly expressed sympathy for the efforts being made to outlaw war. Mr. Williams reminds us that the United States Administration will always have the right to satisfy itself, by sending an "observer" to the Council, concerning the necessity of applying "sanctions" at any time, and thinks that, in case they are satisfied that a State condemned as an aggressor was really an outlaw and a peace-breaker, they would raise no objections to the application of "sanctions" by the League against that State.

Mr. Williams is evidently of the opinion that there are strong forces, which—either because of vested interests or of sheer inability to conceive of any other way of settling disputes than by recourse to war—are opposed to the Protocol and only tolerate the League, and finishes with the declaration that there is no other alternative between a more disastrous war than any we have known and a policy based upon the League. "Such a policy means seeking peace and ensuing it, not toying with the fantastic idea of 'inevitable' but 'local' wars."

Much of the appeal of the book has been crippled by the attitude adopted by Great Britain since it was published, but in view of the fact that it cannot be said that the mandate of the country is behind the present policy and also that the matter must come up again in September when the Sixth Assembly of the League will meet at Geneva, it is to be hoped that Mr. Williams's book will receive the careful reading it deserves.

F. W. NORWOOD.

Exiles of Eternity. By JOHN S. CARROLL, M.A. Hodder. 10s. 6d.

Preachers and teachers who use Dante as they use the Bible, that is to say as a great treasure-house of ethical and spiritual ideas and ideals, will welcome the issue of the fourth edition of Dr. Carroll's invaluable exposition of Dante's *Inferno*. For more than thirty years Carroll sustained by his preaching a down-town Church, not a stone's throw from the Municipal Buildings in Glasgow. His life-long hobby was the study of Dante, and his friends are grateful that he was spared to complete his commentary on the *Divine Comedy*. This is the first of his three volumes, the others being *Prisoners of Hope* (*Purgatorio*) and *In Patria* (*The Paradiso*). His work was unique, for while there are many essays on, and general introductions to, the study of Dante, his is, so far as we know, the only exposition of the poem, canto by canto, in our tongue. He brings out, as only a scholar and saint could, the general scope of Dante's ethical teaching. Canon Talbot hailed Carroll as "Dante's incomparable interpreter." "I have just finished," writes he, "a three years' course of Lenten Lectures in the Chapter House of Bristol Cathedral. How much each hearer owed to you—and how much the lecturer"! Dante noted with sorrow that the Diviners in Malebolge had their heads reversed, and could see and walk no way but backward. Their tears streamed down their backs. Carroll applies this to that form of divination which foretells from Scripture the course of the future until the day of judgment. "Is it not the simple truth that this prying into the future turns men's heads and blinds them to the signs and movements of the present moment?" The reading of this commentary would "thicken" many a sermon on sin, retribution, and repentance. We have heard a minister tell how his people "sat up" as never before as he discoursed on "The Seven Deadly Sins," and afterwards on "The Seven Cardinal Virtues." They were written with the Bible and Carroll open on the study table.

H. JENKINS.

SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST.

We have been several times requested to mark with an asterisk books in this list specially recommended for reading for "ordinary ministers." This plan will henceforth be adopted.

We sometimes think it would be well if some way could be found whereby Biblical scholars and theologians could learn the work that others are doing. If some journal would do in this sphere what *History* does by its list of University theses and dissertations it would be of great service. We are led to these observations by the almost simultaneous publication of Mr. E. J. Jenkinson's *The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus* (Sharp, 5s.), and the Rev. Roderic Dunkerley's *The Unwritten Gospel* (Allen and Unwin, 8s. 6d.). Mr. Jenkinson is a student at Didsbury and Mr. Dunkerley a Congregational minister at Cambridge, and they have given us interesting studies of the "many other things" that Jesus said that find no place in the Canonical

Gospels. The great problem in compilations of this kind is that of arrangement: theagrapha are of such a varied character that it is almost impossible to make a collection other than scrappy. Mr. Jenkinson has arranged his sayings according to sources, Mr. Dunkerley has endeavoured to classify them according to subject matter. Both books are worth study; Mr. Jenkinson's, a promising piece of work for a student, is rather slighter and should be read first. He does not yet possess the background of scholarship evident in Mr. Dunkerley's book. We could have wished, however, that the latter had given us the references at the head of each saying, instead of grouping them at the end of the chapters. His book also suffers from an excess of subjectivity: "I am confident" appears very frequently, and it cannot—nor can "the feel of authenticity"—be accepted as evidence!

Messrs. Williams and Norgate have just published *The Origin of the New Testament* (6s.), an English translation of the sixth of Harnack's N.T. studies, the German preface of which is dated so long ago as 1914. The book is far from easy to read, but all who would know how the N.T. came into being cannot neglect it. How long was the Canon in forming? Was it formed consciously? When was it fixed? In answering these questions Harnack throws much light, not only on his immediate subject, but on the thought, the development and the organisation of the Church in the first two centuries.

Mr. W. P. Livingstone, having deservedly won his laurels in the realm of missionary biography, now turns to the more difficult task of writing *The Master Life: The Story of Jesus for To-day* (J. Clarke, 8s. 6d.). To tell the most familiar story in the world so that it will grip like one that has never been read before calls for great talent, and we are glad Mr. Livingstone has essayed the work, in which he has attained a considered degree of success. He uses all the four Gospels, and allows a restrained and careful use of his imagination, and often throws light on difficult passages. It is interesting to compare the places where the third volume of Budden and Hastings' most useful *The Local Colour of the Bible* (T. and T. Clark, 8s.) touches Mr. Livingstone's *Life*. This volume deals with the N.T., and preachers and teachers will find it full of help. Mr. Asher Davidson's *The Hebrew Quest for God* and Miss Dorothy Wilson's *The Greatest Adventure* (both "Teachers and Taught, 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.") have the same object as Mr. Livingstone's book, though, while Miss Wilson limits herself to the life of Christ, Mr. Asher Davidson's stories deal also with the O.T., and both have specially in mind boys and girls of Junior and Intermediate age, and their teachers. They do their work well.

In *Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature* (Sharp, 6s.), Dr. Harry Ranston, of the Methodist College, Auckland, N.Z., discusses the sources of *Koheleth*. His modest preface should not mislead readers into thinking that he has not for them a thoughtful and thorough examination of his subject. He concludes that "Ecclesiastes" was not widely acquainted with early Greek literature, but moved among people whose minds were stored with the proverbs of the early teachers of morality, Theognis in particular.

In *Via Mystica* (S.P.C.K., 8s. 6d.) the Rev. Jesse Brett expounds, to the length of nearly 400 pp., *The Song of Songs*. Delivered as "Addresses to Religious" the exposition aims at deepening the devotional life: the whole is allegorised, the opening sentence giving the keynote: "Throughout this book the references to King Solomon must be understood of our Lord Who is Himself the Bridegroom of the Soul." It is interesting to put an exposition like this by the side of Dr. Moffatt's translation, where the sensuousness of Eastern love-making is very vividly revealed, and interesting also to see how Mr. Brett evades allegorising "Thy nose is like the tower of Lebanon, etc."

The Rev. W. J. Farley's *The Progress of Prophecy* (R.T.S., 6s.) aims at giving an account of the prophets in the light of modern scholarship for the ordinary Bible reader, while Mr. McIvor's *The Literary Study of the Prophets* (J. Clarke, 6s.) not only deals with such subjects as the "Idealism," "Optimism," and "Sanity" of the Prophets, but also concerns itself with matters of literary form—figurative language, metre, parallelism, and so forth.

We hear so much of the backwardness of the Colonies in matters Biblical and theological that the appearance of a volume like **The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* (Murray, 15s.) by a Sydney professor affords us peculiar pleasure. A compact survey of the mystery-religions and their action and re-action on Christianity has long been a desideratum, and students and ministers will find that Prof. Angus's book supplies the need. In an obscure field where not too much accessible work has been done—and where controversies still rage—there will be many points where specialists will disagree with Prof. Angus, but that does not prevent his book from being a most useful work of reference. We are specially grateful for the two bibliographies—of modern writers and of ancient sources. A book to use along with Dr. Angus's is Dr. A. S. Geden's *Select Passages illustrating Mithraism* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.), in which the translated passages are preceded by a concise introduction.

The Religion of the Manichees (Cambridge Univ. Press, 6s.) consists of three lectures in which Dr. F. C. Burkitt outlines the history, religion and philosophy of the Manichees, emphasising especially the literary sources that have recently been discovered. These learned lectures will be of immense service to busy students, who have long wanted a compact *résumé* of the teaching of the Manichees, which has so often and so easily been misunderstood.

The Apostles' Creed (Sharp, 2s. 6d.) consists of addresses on the clauses of the Creed by the Rev. F. Warburton Lewis. The addresses are popular, and at times inclined to be cheap, but Mr. Lewis gets his message home. His interpretation, however, is not on the same high level as the Rev. A. Boyd Scott's *Nevertheless We Believe*, noticed some time ago.

Prof. C. F. Rogers's *Rome and the Early Church* (S.P.C.K., 1s. 6d.) is a fair and valuable "Study of Evidence," which all liable to be drawn into controversy with Roman Catholics should read.

Last quarter we noticed several books on the subject of prayer. Now Dr. E. J. Bicknell writes **In Defence of Christian Prayer* (Longmans, 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.) in which he examines the objections brought against the practice of prayer from the side of science, psychology and philosophy. Those to whom Mr. Lovell Cocks's article in this issue appeals will find meat in Dr. Bicknell's book.

Next we have several volumes of sermons and addresses quite above the ordinary standard. The Rev. Richard Roberts's *The Gospel at Corinth* (New York: Macmillan, 8s.) is real preaching, and shows how a Pauline letter (1 Cor.) can be used so as to touch modern life. Miss Royden's *Life's Little Pitfalls* (Putnam, 3s. 6d.) is among the best things she has done, though we wish she had chosen another title and her publishers another colour for the edges. Miss Royden has some very practical things to say to the young, the middle-aged, the old, the lonely, and so forth, and we trust her addresses will be widely read. Dr. J. A. Hutton's *As At the First* (Hodder, 3s. 6d.) is the first volume of a series of "Little Books on the Christian Life," edited by the Rev. J. M. E. Ross. The introductory chapter is a little gem.

We do not know if the chapters in Dr. Orchard's *Christianity and World Problems* (Hodder, 6s.) were delivered as lectures or addresses. We are inclined

to think so, because they are marked by the preacher's dogmatism: to take one paragraph only, for example, it may be true to say that "primitive people suffered very little from disease," or that celibacy under Christianity "became so popular that it practically governed the civilisation of Europe," but in a book one looks for a little of the evidence that cannot be given in the pulpit. Nevertheless, this book, like all Dr. Orchard writes, is worth reading, and he here addresses himself to problems that vex the minds of many. The proofs might have been better read—in one place the author is made to say the exact opposite of what he intended.

Prof. F. G. Peabody's **The Church of the Spirit* (New York: Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) is the last volume of the series which began with *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* in 1900. We are not sure that it is not the freshest and most important of the five. Its conclusion is thus expressed: "Either the Christian religion must be presented as essentially a way of life, a practical loyalty, the maintenance of a spiritual tradition, or it will more and more forfeit the allegiance of modern minds. . . . The church which is to satisfy the multiplying and diversified needs of the present and future must, without obscurantism or equivocation, revive the simplicity which is in Christ, and reaffirm His message as a church of the Spirit."

No volume published during recent months will better repay reading than Prof. J. Arthur Thomson's **Science and Religion* (Methuen, 7s. 6d.). Prof. Thomson adds to his knowledge the gift of exposition, a pleasing style, and a facility of illustration that make all his books agreeable reading. Not that this is an arm-chair book: it goes down to fundamental things, and is thoroughly up-to-date, not merely in regard to the sciences, strictly so-called, but also in its treatment of psychology. All ministers should read this book, and it should be put in the hands of all young science students. Prof. Thomson's son, Mr. D. L. Thomson, contributes three appendices: "Relativity," "The Quantum Theory," and "States of Matter."

We opened the Rev. J. K. Mozley's *The Heart of the Gospel* (S.P.C.K., 5s.) with great expectations. Years ago his final chapter in *The Doctrine of the Atonement* had suggested that he would one day give us a constructive book on the Atonement as decisive for our generation as Dale's for his. In this book, which reprints addresses and reviews of the last five years, Mr. Mozley, however, is still clearing the ground. His first three addresses deal with the subject, and there are acute analyses of the views of Forsyth and Rashdall, as well as a conspectus of recent work, but the great task is yet to be done. We hope Mr. Mozley is giving himself to it. Meanwhile Mr. A. E. Peacock's *The Holy Communion an Essential Part of the Atonement* (J. Clarke, 3s. 6d.) is an earnest and well-written piece of special pleading.

The Rev. David Jenks has attempted *A Study of the Mind of Christ* (S.C.M., 4s. 6d.) and deserves commendation on the measure of success he has achieved, for he never becomes weakly sentimental or purely imaginative, but throughout follows closely the mind of Christ as revealed in the Gospels, and interprets it in a thoughtful and suggestive way.

Christ in His Church (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.) consists of eight addresses which together constitute the Bishop of Manchester's Primary Visitation Charge. They are concerned with the function of the Church in the life of to-day. The seventh—"Some Features of Church Life in the Diocese"—may be commended to all Lancashire Christians, for much of what the Bishop has to say there is equally applicable to Free Churches.

Canon Storr's *The Living God* (Hodder, 5s.) is well suited for the Lenten study for which it was intended. It will appeal to all thoughtful readers, as will the Bishop of Edinburgh's *The Undiscovered Country and the Way to It* (Wells Gardner, Darton, 5s.), an exposition of *John* xiv.-xvi.

Six other volumes of addresses follow—all of them with a message. The Rev. S. L. Connor's *Old Wine and New Wine Skins* (Ouseley, 6s.) is an eminently sensible book which examines the present religious situation, and then re-states the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, the Incarnation, and the Atonement in modern language. Dr. L. P. Jacks's four lectures in *Responsibility and Culture* (Yale and Oxford Univ. Presses, 7s.) are as penetrating and suggestive as his writings generally are. Sir W. J. Ashley's *The Christian Outlook* (Longmans, 4s. 6d.) contains sermons and addresses delivered in Cathedrals and Parish Churches since 1913. Dr. Richard Roberts's *The Ascending Life* is composed of five "Studies in the last days of our Lord's earthly life." The Rev. N. M. Caie's *The Vintage* (R.T.S., 2s. 6d.) is a little book of "Studies in the Fruit of the Spirit" which maintains the freshness we marked in a previous work. Sadhu Sundar Singh's simple papers are always a delight to read, and his "Thoughts on Hinduism, Buddhism, Muhammadanism and Christianity" in *The Search for Reality* (Macmillan, 3s.) are no exception. We should like to feel that many Western Christians were pursuing the search with the same eagerness.

The Rev. J. H. Beibitz, having heard someone say that people no longer believe in their religion as their fathers did, set out on the task of apologetics, and his *What I believe, and Why I believe it* (Mowbrays, 2s. 6d.) shows that there are more difficulties in disbelieving Christianity than in believing it. It is a thoughtful book, though it has not the sparkle of the Hon. Bertrand Russell's *What I believe* (Kegan Paul, 2s. 6d.) which is rather contemptuous of opponents and gives an altogether disproportionate place to birth control. In the same series is Dr. Fournier D'Albe's *Quo Vadimus?* a fascinating glimpse into the future, which assures us that "we may feel justified in expecting continual progress for at least one thousand years." Dr. Frank Crane, who thinks the ministry is "a trying place for a man to be a genuine Christian," tells us, in short, scrappy chapters *Why I am a Christian* (Bodley Head, 6s.). Dr. Crane's defence of his faith would not suit most theological professors—or Congregational deacons—but he often "gets there," and sometimes makes us win in the process.

Turning to more massive works, we have to thank the Manchester Univ. Press for Prof. C. E. Vaughan's *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy before and after Rousseau* (2 vols. 42s.) which, with the splendid edition of Rousseau's *Political Writings* published in 1915, forms a large part of that "History of Political Philosophy" which it was Vaughan's purpose to write. Would that he had been able to complete it! We are very grateful to Mr. A. G. Little for the Memoir of Vaughan: it is a pen-picture, and as we read we can hear the familiar voice blurring out its indignation at some reactionary theory or political job. It was our good fortune to hear Vaughan lecture on political philosophy, and after many years he stands out, not merely as one who by his writings made permanent and solid contributions to learning, but as one of the most public-spirited men we have known.

Messrs. Longmans, who publish for the Manchester Univ., have placed scholarship further in their debt by the issue of Father Pompen's thorough examination of *The English Versions of the Ship of Fools* (21s.). Sebastian Brant's work—a masterpiece which combines jest and satire with moral earnestness—was published in German in 1494. It passed through many editions in different languages, and of the two English translations Barclay's (1509) was reprinted in 1570 and 1874. Fr. Pompen has examined and collated the different editions, and his work will not be unsuccessful in its attempt to bring *The Ship of Fools* to the notice of British students.

Prof. Austin P. Evan's *An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom* (Columbia and Oxford Univ. Presses, 12s. 6d.) is a good illustration of the type

of historical work American scholars are now producing. Authorities are quoted in great numbers; there is a careful bibliography; and—while it is admitted that the Nuremberg archives have not been searched—one feels that an accurate account of the sectaries there, and of Luther's attitude towards Dissent, has been given.

Happy are undergraduates who take the English Literature Tripos at Cambridge! Happy are we in that we can so far share their joys as to read the lectures "Q" has printed in *Charles Dickens and Other Victorians* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 12s. 6d.), together with a Paper on Trollope. Five lectures deal with Dickens, three with Thackeray, and the others with Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell, and "The Victorian Background". It is safe to say that never before were such lectures. Sir Arthur adds humour and enthusiasm to knowledge, and he never grows old. We await the next course with all the more eagerness in that—for us—there is no Tripos at the end.

In *The Muse in Council* (Sidgwick & Jackson, 7s. 6d.) Mr. John Drinkwater gathers together sixteen papers—some of them estimating moderns like Maselfield and Ledwidge; others treating of Milton, Burns, and Shelley; and others of the theory and essence of poetry. A paper like "Simple, Sensuous and Passionate," which illustrates the three Miltonic requisites for poetry by an analysis of Wordsworth's *Daffodils* is very pleasing. On the whole, Mr. Drinkwater's criticism is sensible, even if it is always just a wee bit superior. He will, for example, always pay compliments to the proper people; everything is carefully studied, and there are none of the buoyant youthful enthusiasms that we find in "Q."

Mr. J. B. Priestley is a critic who possesses sound judgment, a good style, and a pleasant sense of humour, and in discussing **The English Comic Characters* (Bodley Head, 7s. 6d.) he has discovered a "good line." He puts Falstaff first, and Mr. Micawber next, and, of course, Parson Adams and the Wellers are in his list. Mr. Priestley whiled away a long journey for us, and no student of English literature will read his book without learning something and feeling grateful. Mr. Priestley also writes the Introduction and Notes to *Essayists Past and Present*, the new volume in the "Fireside Library" (Jenkins, 5s.). Herein we have essays, perforce, by Steele, Addison, Swift, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt, while the "present" consists of R.L.S., E.V.L., G.K.C., Belloc and Lynd.

Siegfried Sassoon's *Selected Poems* (Heinemann, 3s. 6d.) is a slight volume containing poems dated between 1908 and 1919. Mr. Sassoon always seems to us at his best in the war poems; there he is stirred to indignation and passion that he can transfer to his verse; his other poems do not grip in the same way.

We give a hearty welcome to Mr. Lennox Robinson's *Golden Treasury of Irish Verse* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.), an anthology which contains many beautiful poems. W. B. Yeats, Seumas O'Sullivan, and Padraic Colum appear frequently, while Lady Gregory and Douglas Hyde are well represented in the Translations from the Gaelic. This is a collection to turn to again and again.

We shall no doubt be written down as a Philistine when we say we find Anatole France's essays *On Life and Letters* (Bodley Head, III. and IV., 2s. 6d. each) boring. The three volumes on *The Life of Joan of Arc* in the same series do make an appeal to us. There M. France has a story to tell and something definite to do, and he does it well, if one allows for his bias. In the essays we feel too often that he is just playing about until the requisite space is filled. Having made which terrible confession we pass on to the stimulating and always exciting pages of Mr. James Agate's *The Contemporary Theatre, 1924* (Chapman & Hall, 7s. 6d.) where Mr. Agate's articles in *The*

Sunday Times are reprinted. We are sorry to note that Mr. Agate is losing his love for the Oldham dialect; we thought it would have been sweet music to him even on the lips of St. Joan! Mr. Agate is now deservedly acknowledged as in the first rank of our dramatic critics.

Mr. Baring-Gould's *Further Reminiscences, 1864-1894* (Bodley Head, 16s.) continues the volume published two years ago. It tells of the life of the young clergyman in Yorkshire and in Essex, of travels on the Continent during the thirty years, and of further work when the author settled down in the ancestral home at Lew Trenchard. There is the same strange mixture of bigotry and snobbery with the widest interest in men and things—Baring-Gould belongs to a type that is fast disappearing. The book contains many good stories and many picturesque accounts of rural life. Its best chapter tells of the collection of folk-songs.

Dr. Grattan Flood in *Early Tudor Composers* (Milford, 6s.) reprints a series of articles from the *Musical Times*. Thirty-two musicians and composers who lived between 1485 and 1555 appear in his list, many of whom previously were no more than names to musical historians. Sir Henry Hadow writes an appreciative preface, and Dr. Grattan Flood is to be congratulated on a useful piece of research.

Of another kind, but in its own way equally valuable, is Miss E. M. G. Reed's *Story Lives of Great Composers* (Evans, Vol. I., 3s. 6d. (leather) and 2s. 6d.). The lives are written primarily for children, but many of older growth will rejoice to have these brief accounts of Greig, Chopin, Verdi, Tchaikovsky, Dvůřák, Coleridge-Taylor, and others.

No book about hymns can fail to contain much of interest, but the Rev. W. C. Procter's *The Story of Sacred Song* (J. Clarke, 4s.) is a compilation that fails to impress us either by its scholarship or by its arrangement. What are we to make of a chapter on "Latin, Greek, German and American Hymns"? And is Mr. Procter quite sure that "the celebrated Dr. Johnson" said "Give me the making of a nation's ballads, and I care not who makes its laws"?

Mr. J. S. Hoyland's *Brief History of Civilisation* (Milford, 7s. 6d. and 3s. 6d.) is a remarkable achievement. With Secondary Schools in view Mr. Hoyland has, in less than 300 well illustrated pages, surveyed the centuries from the beginnings of history to Trotsky. His chronological table and "Note on books" add to the value of the book. Mr. Hoyland has also had reprinted *The Race Problem and the Teaching of Jesus Christ* (R.T.S., 3s. 6d.) which first appeared in *Young India*, and might be read with profit alike in India and in this country.

Everything Mr. John Lee writes is deserving of consideration, and his latest book, **Christian Social Duty* (S.C.M., 5s.) is a challenging and searching examination of the Christian's attitude to modern life. Should the Christian "make the best of social arrangements of which he disapproves"? How shall we counteract the present state of things, when "a body of legislative action has come into being which takes the place of a Christian sensitiveness to wrong"? We cordially commend this volume.

Miss Margaret Wrong's *Ideals and Realities in Europe* (S.C.M., 2s. 6d.) paints some vivid pictures of life in Europe to-day—social, political and religious—and concludes that there must be an apprehension of spiritual values if there is to be international co-operation and peace.

The Rev. W. Wilson Cash, who writes with intimate knowledge, has in *The Moslem World in Revolution* (S.P.G., 2s.) given us an important book, stuffed with facts, and yet written in a style that sustains the interest. Mr. Cash describes the change that is taking place among Moslems, and believes that there is now a great opportunity for the Christian Church. Meanwhile the Rev. F. Lenwood describes *Modern Problems in the South Seas* (L.M.S.,

6d.). With these books all missionaries, M.P.s, and Indian Civil Servants ought to read Mr. Stanley Rice's *The Challenge of Asia* (Murray, 7s. 6d.), a thought-provoking account of the challenge Japan, China and India are making to Western supremacy. The historical chapters are specially well done.

Prisoners Released (Wesleyan Miss. Soc., rs.) is the Rev. C. Phillips Cape's description of "The redemption of a criminal tribe," the Domes of Benares, and in *The "Stranger People"* (R.T.S., 2s. 6d.) the Rev. W. B. Paton, who has just returned to China, tells of work among the Hakkas, and urges the Church to seize the present opportunity. In Miss Hawkrigge's blank verse play *The Pilgrim's Quest* (S.C.M., rs. 6d.) the Pilgrim and his friend, the Cobbler, wander through the world to Animism and to all the great religions before they find peace in Christianity.

Two little books which should prove very handy just now are Mr. H. Wilson Harris's *What the League of Nations Is* (Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d.) and Mrs. Oliver's *The World's Industrial Parliament* (Allen & Unwin, 2s.), an account of the International Labour Organisation of the League. Mrs. Innes's *The Story of the League of Nations* (Hogarth Press, rs. 6d.) succeeds in giving an account of the League which will interest young people.

If we say we cannot see what Mr. Stephen Graham is getting at in *Russia in Division* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) he will no doubt conclude that we are in the pay of the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, it is the truth. Some of his chapters are almost hysterical in their fear of the spread of Bolshevism, and then suddenly we are told that five miles from the railway the old Russia still exists, and that a new united Russia may be hoped for. Mr. Graham's personality makes everything that he writes of interest, but these accounts of his visits to the lands of the "Cordon Sanitaire," of "Russia in France," and of Soviet plans are somewhat incoherent.

"Can statecraft be directed to spiritual as well as political ends?" Can it build the city of God as well as the city of man? To these questions Miss M. D. Petre addresses herself in the *Two Cities* (Longmans, 4s. 6d.). In her examination of the conflict between idealism and reality she discusses war, the League, and many other cognate subjects.

An Introduction to Teaching. (By W. C. Bagley and J. A. H. Keith. New York: Macmillan, 8s. 6d.) is the first of a series of books written expressly for teachers. It is written with enthusiasm as well as knowledge, and Sunday School as well as Day School teachers could peruse its pages with advantage.

In *A Book about Schools* (Black, 12s. 6d.) Mr. A. R. Hope Moncrieff chats pleasantly about "Ancient Schools," "Church Schools," "Jesuit Schools," "Humanist Schools," and so on. Readers will be both informed and entertained by a survey which has a very wide range.

The latest volume of the University of London's Intermediate Source-books of History consists of contemporary illustrations of *England under the Early Tudors* (Longmans, 9s. 6d.). Mr. C. H. Williams has made a good selection, and Secondary teachers should find the book very useful.

Do children learn more quickly from films, ordinary lantern slides, or oral teaching? *The Cinema in Education*, edited by Sir James Marchant (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) is the report of a psychological committee established by the National Council of Public Morals to investigate the matter.

Dr. Adelaide T. Case's *Liberal Christianity and Religious Education* (New York: Macmillan, 9s.) is a valuable compilation. After gathering together what are "The Distinctive Positions of Liberal Christianity and their Implied Educational Objectives," she discusses how far the text-books, the curricula, and the ability of those engaged in religious education tend to secure these objectives. Her conclusions are, to say the least of it, disquieting;

the text-books almost entirely fail to adapt modern knowledge to the teaching of younger children, and questionnaires to large groups of teachers show lamentable ignorance, not merely of Biblical criticism, but of elementary facts concerning the Bible, the Church, and Society. The Rev. W. Hendy Cock's conclusions with regard to Church of England Sunday Schools—he is Director of Religious Education in the Diocese of York—are similar, and in *The Sunday Schools of To-day* (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d.) he shows how they might be made effective. The book is alive to practical difficulties and many besides Anglicans will find it helpful. Another capable little book on the same subject is the Rev. J. Williams Butcher's *The Work of the Sunday School* (Sharp, 1s.) one of a series which Sunday School teachers will find very handy; others in the series are Miss Herston Travers's *Letters to Young Christians* and the Rev. W. Fiddian Moulton's *Social Life and Relations of N.T. Times*.

Heroes in Friendship (Milford, 2s. 4d.) is Book III. of the "Friends of all the World" series. In it Mr. Basil Mathews tells stories of heroic achievement in a way calculated to interest the boys and girls of thirteen at whom he aims. Mr. Mathews writes a Foreword to *Tales to Tell Little Children* (Teachers and Taught, 2s. 6d.) in which Miss Barnard and Miss Spriggs tell Nature and Bible stories for "Beginners" in an illustrated volume which Leaders will find helpful. A further attempt to solve the problem of telling the Bible story for children is contained in Miss Theodora Wilson Wilson's well-illustrated *The Old Testament Story* and *The New Testament Story* (Blackie, 3s. 6d. each.) We doubt if children will make much of a retained sentence like: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"

No worker among boys can afford to be without Mr. D. L. Finnemore's *Boys!* (Hodder, 5s.). It is nearly the "complete manual for workers among boys" that it claims to be. It will, however, rather irritate workers among Scouts and B.B.'s by its underlying assumption that the B.L.B. is "the thing," and its cricket and football illustrations are ludicrous (in the latter four members of one team are playing each other while the only member of the opposing team visible is doing an aimless sprint!).

We are delighted that Mark Hovell's posthumous *The Chartist Movement* has gone to a second edition (Longmans, 6s.). It is an excellent piece of work and well deserves the wider circulation it will get in this cheaper form.

The new edition of Stopford Brooke's *English Literature* (Macmillan, 2s. 3d.) has a chapter by George Sampson, bringing the story up-to-date. Messrs. Dent are now giving us R.L.S. in the "Everyman" series (2s., 3s., 3s. 6d.), the four volumes so far issued including eight of Stevenson's works.

Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* and Burke *Selections* are new volumes in Nelson's Classics (1s. 6d.), and the Oxford Press has issued Southey's *Life of Wesley* (2 vols., 3s. 6d. each; 1 vol. India paper, 10s. 6d.). The Rev. G. H. Russell's *Intercession Services* has deservedly gone to a new edition (revised and enlarged, Allenson, 2s.) and a popular edition of Joseph Dawson's *Peter Mackenzie* (Sharp, 2s.) has appeared.

EDITOR.

Rabbi Asher Feldman's *The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis: Agricultural and Pastoral* (Cambridge University Press, 7s. 6d.) is a veritable treasure house of quotations from the Talmud referring to various features of agrarian life, and arranged under a number of headings such as The Field, The Garden, Viticulture, Trees, etc., etc. Students of the N.T. and more especially of the Gospels will find the collection useful in two ways. Firstly the parabolic teaching of Jesus receives much illustration both as to its form and as to its exquisite natural imagery, and secondly there is a

good deal of material which will help us to build up a correct picture of the social and economic life of Palestinian Jews during the first Christian centuries. As an example of the second point the distinction between two classes of tenant farmer, the *אִישׁ* or *metayer* and the *הַכֹּרֶת* or fixed rent tenant, becomes clear. The intimate connexion of O.T. and Talmud is fully brought out and by consequence much light is thrown incidentally on the Jewish matrix behind our Gospels.

Prof. J. E. McFadyen's *Key to the Exercises in Davidson's Hebrew Grammar* (T. & T. Clark, 10s.) is a thorough and scholarly piece of work. Excellent notes are attached to the renderings and these are supplemented by three good indexes comprising Subjects, Hebrew Forms and Words, and Passages Quoted. Scope is provided for more advanced work by references to the *Syntax*, to *Gesenius-Kautzsch*, and to the *Oxford Lexicon*. Such a book has long been desired and it will be of immense value to hundreds of scattered students and ministers, nor will professional teachers peruse it without profit.

J. P. NAISH.

Immanence and Incarnation (Cambridge University Press; 10s. 6d.), the Rev. S. F. Davenport's Norrisian Prize essay, is a piece of very scholarly work. It is a plea for the predominantly transcendental philosophy of the Incarnation, and for the orthodox doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, as against the "immanentism" which has become so popular. The book is rather overweighted with quotations from high and low, but when the author strikes into the heather, and speaks out of his own religious consciousness, he is so unusually good that one wants more. His acquaintance with theology in the English poets is very refreshing, and somehow one feels that what Mr. Davenport knows and loves best is the cry of the heart for the living God. This is a book that promises to be the precursor of valuable contributions to Christian thought.

The Rev. Dundas Harford's *The Shewings of Lady Julian* (H. R. Allenson; 3rd ed., 3s. 6d.) a modernised reprint of the teachings of the fourteenth century Norwich mystic, will be welcome to all who can enter into its spirit. For ourselves, we prefer S. Teresa; but here also is the real stuff of contemplation. Whether Lady Julian's revelations came "by bodily sight, by word formed in mine understanding, or by ghostly sight," she at least was sure of them. And though they savour too much of the recluse, yet her rule of life was a great one: "Fear God; fear nought else."

Mr. Marshall Dawson's *Prayer that Prevails* (New York: Macmillan, 9s.) is an American book, and its aim is to "emphasise prayer as a force rather than a form." The introductory essay seems to us a little scrappy. The main body of the book is a collection of ancient and modern prayers for nearly every occasion the wit of man can devise. Wonderful prayers from the great Liturgies are here alongside things like this: "Lord, give me sense enough to recognise the gates of hell before I drive through them." But there is a great deal in the book which is good, though to English ears it comes "with a difference."

Mr. K. L. P. Martin's *Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific* (Oxford University Press, 6s.) is a Beit Prize Essay for 1921. Its object is to explain the political influence of British missionaries in the Pacific in the nineteenth century. The narrative deals chiefly with New Zealand and Fiji; but there is a short survey of pioneer days, and an outline of the events in New Guinea. In each group of islands the native races, even under missionary supervision, proved incapable of establishing a government strong enough to control the Europeans in their midst. This led to annexation by one or other of the Powers; and in the end the missionaries have always favoured and supported

this policy. The Essay is written with great fairness, and with a sound judgment. It is a valuable study of the missionary problems of Polynesia, and, while it is very generous to the missionaries, it deals frankly with their mistakes. It is readable from cover to cover; and thoroughly worth reading.

The Hill of Contentment, by Mr. Fairfield Whitwell (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.) is a series of twenty-five short papers redolent of the forest and heath, and in tune with the restfulness of nature, and with a matured Christian faith. The author has retired from the main work of his life to spend the quiet evening in the country, and these are some of the fruits of his leisure. They are delightful papers. Besides their genuine literary taste, they have the flavour of the Divine graciousness: "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is," might be an excellent motto for them. It is worth while listening to a man who knows how to grow old so charmingly: "I have had my innings and enjoyed it, and if I have not carried out my bat in glory, I have added one or two runs to the score of life, and have tried to play *cricket*." This is the right spirit: and perhaps the secret of it is that he has thoroughly understood the saying which he quotes from Quarles, "The best way to see Divine Light is to put out thine own candle." We have greatly enjoyed this book; by the light of the evening lamp it will help to smooth out the roughness of the day.

A. T. S. JAMES.

In *Reviews and Studies, Biblical and Doctrinal*. (Longmans, 7s. 6d.), Dr. F. J. Badcock has collected a number of papers contributed to the *Church Quarterly Review* and other journals. His point of view is anti-Modernist, but he writes with entire absence of controversial bitterness. He reveals an acute mind in dealing with such doctrinal issues as the Trinity and the Chalcedonian definition of the Two Natures. He is not so successful in his New Testament contributions. He reads Paul into the Synoptists and seems to prefer the Fourth Gospel to both as an historical document. He accepts the Gospel miracles as "illustrative" rather than as evidential. In complete disregard of Paul's own testimony, he believes that the Apostle to the Gentiles received his first commission from the Apostles at Jerusalem, and makes much of "ordination" in this connexion. The closing paper on the Cult of the Reserved Sacrament is a trenchant criticism of the logic implied in the cult. Its alleged devotional value is put upon the same level as the testimony of "Dissenters" to the fact that "our Lord is as really present to them in their eucharistic rites as He is to us in ours." Nevertheless it is maintained that "for good or for evil, both" (the Reserved Sacrament and the Nonconformist Eucharist) "are equally unauthorised and invalid."

Provost Taylor's *Communion and Fellowship* (Nisbet, 4s. 6d.) is an attempt to estimate the value of the Lord's Supper from the point of view of inner experience apart from controversial issues. Although written with the Anglican Communion Service in view throughout, it will be found helpful by many non-Anglican Christians. It is a model of clear and simple writing.

E. J. PRICE.

Also received:

E. M. NEVILL: *Talks on Bible Books* (Teachers and Taught, 2s.).

T. JOLLIE SMITH: *Studies in Criticism and Revelation* (Sharp, 5s.).

F. J. NORTH (Ed.): *Communion Addresses by Representative Preachers* (J. Clarke, 5s.).

R. F. HORTON: *The Revolt from the Bible* (J. Clarke, 6d.).

G. T. SADLER: *A New World by a New Vision* (Daniel, 4s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.).

H. L. HUBBARD: *Some Catholic Methods of Prayer* (S.C.M., 1s.).

- G. STEVEN : *Hints and Helps for Corporate Prayer* (S.C.M., 1s.).
 A. BURTON : *Hints on Elocution for the Clergy* (Skeffington, 1s.).
 G. LONGRIDGE : *A Preparation for Marriage* (Mowbray, 1s. 6d.).
 O. W. LINCOLN : *Sex Hygiene* : Intended for the Use of Parents (Bale, 1s.).
 G. H. MITCHELL : *Down in Limehouse* (Martin, 7d.).
 C. GWEN PARRY : *Everyday Life in Papua* (Livingstone Press, 1s.)
 FRANK JOHNSON : *The Way of Success*. (Talks to Young Worshipers)
 (S.S.U., 2s.).
 G. C. LEADER : *The Gate of Pearl* (Addresses to Children) (Allenson, 3s. 6d.).
 R. EVERETT JAYNE : *The Story of John Pounds* (Sharp, 2s.).
 ALEXANDER MARSHALL (Ed.) : *Setting the Course* (Pickering, 1s. 9d.).
 JOHN GRAY : *A Treasury for Teachers* (Pickering, 2s.).
 E. E. BRADFORD, D.D. : *The Tree of Knowledge* (Poems) (Broadway House,
 3s. 6d.).
 R. G. COLLINGWOOD : *Outlines of a Philosophy of Art* : (World's Manuals :
 Clarendon Press, 2s. 6d.).
 HENRY CECIL : *The Fourfold Challenge of To-day* (Report of Sheffield Regional
 Copec Conference : Longmans, 2s. 6d.).
 E. W. BURT : *Fifty Years in China : The Story of the Baptist Mission in
 Shantung, Shansi, and Shensi* (Carey Press, 2s.).
 G. A. GASKELL : *Genesis Interpreted through undermeanings disclosed by the
 language of symbolism found in all Inspired Scriptures* (Daniel, 3s. 6d.).
 R. A. MARRIOTT : *Arabic, the Language of Christ* (Allenson, 2s.).
 J. MCCABE : *The Lourdes Miracles* (Watts, 1s. 3d.).
 SIR ARTHUR KEITH : *The Religion of a Darwinist* (Watts, 1s.).
 G. K. CHESTERTON : *The Superstitions of a Sceptic* (Heffer, 1s. 6d.).
 P. GEDDES and J. A. THOMSON : *Biology* (Home Univ. Lib., 2s. 6d.).

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

The *Holborn* (April) has many short articles in this issue. Dr. Peake gives us the first part of his Presidential Address to the Manchester Classical Association, and there are timely articles on "Spiritual Healing" (Rev. L. W. Grensted) and "The Church and the Child" (Rev. F. C. Hoggarth). We have also studies of the life of Sir Henry Jones and the autobiography of Mr. Malcolm Quin, a discussion of "Population and the Standard of Living" (Mr. A. N. Shimmin) and three theological papers. Congregational contributors are the Rev. D. Henry Rees ("Free Trade") and the Rev. A. G. Eldridge ("Sunday Evening Wireless").

The *Hibbert* (April) opens with the Bishop of Durham's onslaught on "Spiritual Healing," which is followed by Dr. William Brown's "Religion and Psychology." We welcome the Editor's return from social and economic topics, for his "Perspective in the Narratives of the Passion" is one of the most suggestive articles we have recently read. Among other contributors are Prof. J. H. Muirhead ("The Social Idealism of Copec"), Prof. Miall Edwards ("The Doctrine of the Person of Christ") and the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas ("Eternal Life, Immortality, and Resurrection"). Mr. R. M. Fox's "Mass Production-A Worker's Experience" is a vivid and valuable piece of work.

The *Pilgrim* (April). It will be interesting to see how far the Editor's "The Church and Education" represents the policy of the Church of England. Two articles deal with the important and neglected subject of "Church Discipline"—Dr. Vernon Bartlet's in the Ancient Church and Mr. A. L. Lilley's in the Middle Ages. Miss Caillard's "The New Psychology and the Human Person," and Canon Quick's "What is Authority?" will repay reading.

The *London Quarterly* (April). Dr. Alfred Faulkner answers in the negative the question "Is the Historic Episcopate Historic?" Mr. Daniel Wiseman has an excellent article on "The Philosophy of Anatole France," and Dr. Stephenson's "The Origin of Civilisation" and Mr. J. D. Ross's "Mencius' Doctrine of Human Nature" are other important contributions.

The Baptist Quarterly (April). The Rev. C. M. Hardy continues his account of former Secretaries of the Baptist Union, and Mr. S. J. Price has a useful discussion on "The Office of Church Secretary." There are extracts from J. C. Ryland's diary in 1744, and Dr. John Wilson writes on "Pastoral Visitation."

The Modern Churchman (March-May). There are articles on Baron von Hügel by the Rev. Alfred Fawkes and Archdeacon Lilley, "The Gospel of Evolution" by Professor J. Arthur Thomson, and "The Origin of the Four Gospels" by the Editor. Dr. G. G. Coulton writes on "Roman Catholic History" and Rev. A. T. W. Dowding on George MacDonald's Poetry. Prof. Rudolf Otto discusses the Resurrection and Mr. F. L. Cross "The Numinous." Among other contributors are Dr. Norman Sykes and the Rev. Kenneth Luce.

The Church Quarterly Review (April). A valuable number, with half-a-dozen excellent articles and some useful reviews. The Bishop of Gloucester opens with the first of two articles on "The Four Gospels," and the Rev. W. Lockton has a long historical study of "The Age for Confirmation." Canon Hunter writes on "Morality and Mysticism," Ibn Sabil on "Genesis: The Book of the Bedouin," and Canon de Pauley on "Clement of Alexandria." In "Three Philosophers on Religion," Dean W. R. Matthews estimates the contributions of F. H. Bradley, McTaggart, and Rashdall.

The Friends' Quarterly Examiner (Fourth Month). The Editor and two contributors are greatly concerned about the present state of the Society of Friends: their articles are not without significance for other Christians. Mr. Joseph Southall writes on "The Graphic Arts in Education," Dr. Powicke on "Richard Baxter and William Penn," Mr. W. F. Harvey on "Family Tradition and Personal Relationship," and Mr. Grubb on "An Unpublished Memoir," that of Anthony Sharp, a seventeenth century Dublin Quaker.

The Expository Times (March-May). Three articles dealing with religious education which deserve thought are by the Revs. T. Grigg Smith, F. J. Rae, and Carey Bonner. We welcome the Rev. Nicol Macnicol's "Hinduism and Christianity: Some Points of Contact and Divergence." Dr. Garvie writes on "Paul's Personal Religion."

The Expositor (March-May).—Dr. Adolf Keller writes on "A Theology of Crisis," Prof. T. H. Robinson on "The Ten Best Books on *Job*," Prof. C. J. Cadoux on "The Visits of Jesus to Jerusalem," and the Rev. R. Dunkerley on "Anglo-Saxon Agrapha."

The Review of the Churches (April). Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir F. Lugard, Lord Olivier, and Dr. Lothrop Stoddard discuss the race problem in the light of the recent books by Mr. J. H. Oldham and Mr. Basil Mathews. Bishop Gore and Dr. Carnegie Simpson analyse "The Anglican Mind"; the Rev. Richard Roberts writes on "The United Church of Canada," and the Editor on "America Revisited."

The British Journal of Inebriety (April) is occupied by an important paper on "Acute Drunkenness: its Medico-Legal Aspects, Symptoms and Tests," by Sir James Purves-Stewart, and its discussion by medical men.

The International Review of Missions (April). Mr. T. Z. Koo writes on "Chinese Education and Religious Work among Students," Mr. J. H. Oldham on "The Christian Opportunity in Africa." There is an appreciation of Bishop Weston by Canon Maynard Smith, and Dr. Hogg continues his criticism of Dr. Schweitzer's ethical teaching. Three papers discuss "Religious Education in India," and the Rev. G. S. Stewart has an interesting article on "The Spirit of Worship and Reverence."

World Dominion (March and June). The Rev. Roland Allen writes on "A Constitution for the Indian Church," the Rev. A. Baxter on "Sun Yat-Sen," and Mrs. A. J. Streeter on "Wipe Out Leprosy." Several important articles bear initials only—a policy we wish the Editor would re-consider. In the June number Mr. Allen writes most cogently on "The Essentials of an Indigenous Church," and other valuable contributions are the Rev. H. A. Popley's "Facing Two Ways in India" and the Rev. J. Tom Brown's "The Native Problem in South Africa."

The Yale Review (April). The President of Yale opens with "Some Reflections on Democracy and Education"; Miss Repplier follows with "The Child and the Law"; Miss MacAfee writes on "Towards Romance," and Dr. H. N.

Russell on "The New Physics and the Stars." Prof. Warren Beach quotes some interesting inscriptions in "The Eloquence of Stones" and Mr. A. E. Malone has a study of Lady Gregory's plays. Mr. W. H. Gardiner describes his "Insular America" as "a postscript to Mahan."

The *Harvard Theological Review* (Jan.-April). Dr. Moore continues his study of "The Rise of Normative Judaism," getting as far as the close of the Mishnah. Prof. R. P. Casey has a long article on Clement of Alexandria. Mr. Campbell Bonner describes a codex of the Shepherd of Hermas in the Papyri of the University of Michigan, and Prof. Krüger has Part II., of "Literature of Church History 1914-20," dealing with the years from 1800. In the section devoted to "Notes" Dr. Rendel Harris discusses the question "Was the Diatessaron Anti-Judaic?"

The *Review* and *Expositor* (Baptist, Louisville, Kentucky. April). Dr. Alex. Maclaren's address to Rawdon students in 1864 is reprinted. Dr. W. W. Everts writes on "Paul's Contribution to N.T. Vocabulary," Dr. J. A. Faulkner on "Paul as Church Organiser," and the Rev. A. D. Belden on "The Spirit of Expiation."

The *Princeton Theological Review* (April). In "The State of the Church," Mr. C. E. Macartney discusses present controversies in the United States. Mr. D. S. Clark writes on "Theology and Evolution," Dr. Eells on "Sacramental Negotiations at the Diet of Augsburg," and Dr. R. D. Wilson on "Aramaisms in the Old Testament." The longest article is the Editor's thorough examination of Dr. Moffatt's Old Testament translation, which is said to be undignified, insolent, vulgar, unreliable, deceptive, etc., etc., etc.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A COMMUNITY CARICATURED.

[TO THE EDITOR, "THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY."]

SIR,—Is an author justified in presenting, in a thin disguise of fiction, real persons he has known? The general question, old enough of course, is revised and illustrated from time to time by particular instances, such as that of "Harold Skimpole" and Leigh Hunt.

Another particular instance has lately come under my notice, in the publication of a book with the title *Grey Pastures*, by William Haslam Mills. The author has, in these pages, "presented" people whom he has known. Since he does not give them their real names the book can hardly be classed as biography; but, on the other hand, the disguise he does give them is so thin that he cannot justly claim to have produced a work of imagination.

The volume contains eighteen sketches, and most of it, the author says, originally appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* (of which journal, by the way, he has written a history). The first dozen sketches are directly concerned with a Congregational, or Independent, community worshipping at "Wycliffe" chapel at "Ashton-on-the-Hill," near Manchester, in the eighties; the others have more general relation to the same locality. Nobody who knows the neighbourhood at all will be in any doubt that "Ashton-on-the-Hill" is really Ashton—something else. Nor does "Wycliffe," instead of the real name, offer any difficulty in identification of the community. This does not greatly matter, and might not in itself constitute the slightest ground of offence. But when persons prominently connected with the community—persons whose families are still living in the neighbourhood—are made to figure unheroically in these sketches almost without disguise, though with some little change of name—is it surprising that those who know the facts should ask how Mr. Mills justifies this turning into copy of his friends and the intimate friends of his people?

I do not know the author personally : if I met him in the eighties, as may have been possible, I am not aware of it. On his own showing, he was very young then (as indeed was I), and in some respects it might be thought that his youth has been continuous.

The "character" most prominent in the book is "Mr. John Ogden Green," who was a tailor. "He had two shops. One of them was sacred to crewel or fancy work, and was tended by the vestal women of his household." He also had a "long red beard." He was a deacon of "Wycliffe." "Enjoying his friendship and the run of his house" (which is also particularly described) the author says :

"Truly a man who lived his life and had everything interesting about him—his periodical sick headaches were things we were not privileged to behold, but Mrs. Ogden Green, who ministered to them with cold compresses, reported—and in fact it was common talk—that they were phenomenal. They had in fact acquired the standing of Kosmic and seasonal things, and were spoken of like the periodic activity of volcanoes or the neap tides. I have heard the chairmen of meetings ask someone else to read the minutes in the absence of Mr. Ogden Green, who was 'suffering from one of his sick headaches.'"

"He almost always came to our house on Sunday night to supper, and it was while he sat among us with one leg stiffly thrown across the other, that the financial, if not the spiritual results of the day were winnowed, sifted and gathered into barns while hymnody and last appeals still burnished the western skies of consciousness. . . . If it had been the day of the 'annual sermons' he could tell us what exactly it had cost to have Dr. Parker, or what it would have cost to have had not Dr. Parker but Dr. Dale. Others might know divines by their doctrine ; he knew them by their price."

The original of "Mr. John Ogden Green" was a man whose second name—the distinctive one of Ogden—was almost always used with his surname when he was spoken of. Everyone who knew him would, on reading the first page of the book, realise that "Mr. Ogden Green" and he were identical. Though he is not now living, it is not many years since he died. He was a tailor ; he had two shops, exactly as described ; he was a deacon of "Wycliffe" ; he had a sandy beard ; he had the ways and mannerisms of which Mr. Mills "adorns the tale." But the serious part of the matter is that although Mr. Ogden — (whom I knew personally) was an upright, able and most estimable man, devoting a great deal of time, attention and zeal—to say nothing of money—to the important church called "Wycliffe," there is nothing in this book to indicate that he was anything but a man of petty and self-important, if not hypocritical character, occupied with commonplace activities, and concerned not at all with the things of the spirit. Is it any wonder that those who are aware that various members of Mr. —'s family and one at least of the "vestal women" are still living and holding his memory in honour, should regard this caricature—practically undisguised—as an outrage ? Should the mere trivialities of habit—magnified and frilled—of a man who won affection and esteem from those nearest to him, and sincere regard from many friends, be offered as if they were a portrait of the man himself ? Is that the way of true art ? Perhaps, after all, true art is largely a matter of taste—in the artist.

There are other easily recognisable "portraits" in the book. The persons portrayed never do anything but what may be called the "chores" of the community—never anything "Kosmic." "Mr. John Hills, the organist" (says Mr. Mills) "had just been in to discuss, all over again, how the singing 'went'"; and there was "Mr. Harkness, the minister, a sensationally delicate man, who seldom went out between Sundays except to risk his life at an important funeral." An *important* funeral, be it observed.

The sketches are undoubtedly clever. And the style would be a very good style, for some purposes. There is keen observation, but no perspective. *Auld Licht Idylls* is also concerned with a religious community. But what a contrast it presents to *Grey Pastures*! The chief contrast is in the spirit of the two books. Barrie illumined the trivial with a large sympathy: Mr. Mills appears to think that the proper illuminant of the trivial is a spacious irony. You note its "Kosmic" range in the passages I have quoted. If Mr. Mills knows of anything, or any other being, worthy of his reverence, he has effectually withheld his knowledge. The air of patronage—an air communicated from no common elevation—pervades the book, though it is fair to say that the last few sketches are those least vitiated by it. "The Death of Henry Stonor" (the M.P. whose real name could have suggested nothing more clearly than Stone) is one prolonged sneer. He is safely dead: living, I understand, he was rather formidable. The piece might have served for some reflections on the demise of the devil, but that personage is, unfortunately, still alive; there are, indeed, in Mr. Mills's book touches that suggest its citation as testimony to the fact. But as to Mr. Hugh—I mean "Mr. Henry Stonor," he was a long way from being the devil.

Mr. Mills is observant and able enough to have written a valuable "transcript" of life in a Nonconformist community in the eighties. This book is not that. It is a satire, and presumably the author did not intend it to be a satire on himself. But the satire certainly shrinks back from some of the "characters," and especially from one of whom the author claims to have enjoyed the friendship,

Yours, etc.,

J. CARTWRIGHT FRITH.

[The above letter was sent to Mr. Haslam Mills, and here is his reply.—ED.]

[TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY."]

DEAR SIR,—Until you so very fairly and kindly sent me an advance proof of Mr. J. Cartwright Frith's strong and searching letter I had no idea that my little book, *Grey Pastures*, had caused so much anger and pain. I did not, in fact, know that it had caused any at all. The book has been very generously noticed both in the general and the Nonconformist Press, and I have received quite a number of not less welcome appreciations by letter. Many of these I have received from people who also know (or suppose themselves to know) the scenes about which I have written. Some of these people are of those who have known one since one was a boy, and do not hesitate therefore to speak their formidable minds. All of them would, I am sure, have been quick to see and resent the sneer at sacred things and not less sacred people of which Mr. Cartwright Frith thinks me guilty. But they do not seem to have seen the book in that light—rather in quite a different light. And then suddenly, on this placid and enjoyable experience of authorship, there looms Mr. Cartwright Frith! Very eloquent and slashing and wrathful! Asking awful and thunderous questions—"Is an author justified"—beginning his letter with these familiar words of doom!

If Mr. Cartwright Frith knows any person, not himself, whose feelings have been "outraged" by my little book, I beg that he will carry to that person an expression of my great sorrow that this should be so, and that I should have been so much misunderstood. But in carrying this message will he kindly carry also another? Will he explain to this person the curious difference there is between himself and myself. He thinks that certain people who appear in my book are defamed and insulted by having the truth written about them. He is not questioning my accuracy. Rather is he, most of the time, accusing me of accuracy, and it is this very accuracy

which he resents as an offence to the dead and, through the dead, to the living. I think, on the other hand, that these people were complimented by having the truth told about them. They were sufficiently interesting to invite it, and sufficiently big to bear it. I think in fact a great deal more of them than does Mr. Cartwright Frith.

It would, of course, be different if, having made a certain character in the book clearly recognisable, I had gone on to represent him as being "petty" and "self-important" and even (it seems) "hypocritical." But then I have not. I understand Mr. Cartwright Frith to be telling me somewhere in his letter that I am not an imaginative writer. There is such a person also as the unimaginative reader!

Then—as to reverence or the lack of it. Reverence is shown by one person in one way and by another in another. It does not matter much how, so long as it comes from the heart. I have shown mine by spending many laborious hours trying to make these people as real and vivid and delightful to others as they were to me. If Mr. Cartwright Frith cannot comprehend me when I say that, I would refer him to pages 46 and 55 for the literal and explicit avowals of reverence which he seems to have missed.

By the way, the reviewer of another little essay which I have written since this book, made excellent fun of me for carrying "awe for the Victorian age" to "heights unattainable even by Dean Inge himself."

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM HASLAM MILLS.

FRENSSSEN AS MORALIST.

[TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY."]

DEAR EDITOR,—Ought not unsuspecting readers to receive some warning regarding Frenssen's views on sexual questions? His short summary of Christ's teaching, in *Holyland*, adds to "Go and sin no more" the qualification (I quote from memory) "But, even if you are overtaken by your former sin, do not be too greatly discouraged." Is that Christlike? The story in the same volume includes an intrigue between the girl friend of a dying woman and the woman's husband. The love-making of the man addressed to his accomplice or victim—I suppose we must call it love-making—lives in my memory as among the grossest things I ever read.

Non tali auxilio.

Yours ever very truly,

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

TO THE EDITOR, "THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY."

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—I am sorry to read Dr. Mackintosh's letter, because I feel it will prejudice your readers against Frenssen. There may be—there are—isolated passages in Frenssen's writings which the more sensitive conscience of this country would not approve; but on the whole Frenssen's outlook is so healthy that Dr. Mackintosh's criticism seems ungenerous.

A controversy on this subject, quoting chapter and verse, would not be particularly edifying to your readers, but Dr. Mackintosh's opinion ought not to be allowed to pass without comment.

I am, etc.,

W. BLACKSHAW.